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THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Vol. 135 No. 11 Week ending September 14, 1986

Goodbye to the summit?

THE Soviet leader Mr Gorbachev was still speaking this week as if he expected his proposed summit meeting with President Reagan to take place. He seemed unaware that by permitting the KGB to arrest an American reporter, Mr Nicholas Daniloff, and charge him with espionage he had virtually scuppered hopes that it could go ahead. The allegations against Mr Daniloff were widely seen as a frame-up and Mr Reagan said on Monday that "Whatever the Soviet motives — whether it is to intimidate enterprising journalists or to trade him for one of their spies that we caught red-handed — this action violates the standards of civilised international behaviour.

"The continuing Soviet detention of an innocent American is an outrage. Through several channels we've made our position clear — the Soviet Union is aware of how serious the consequences will be for our relations if Nick Daniloff is not set free. I call upon the Soviet authorities to act responsibly and quickly so that our two countries can make progress on the many other issues on our agenda, solving existing problems instead of creating new ones. Otherwise, there will be no way to prevent this incident from becoming a major obstacle in our relations."

Mr Daniloff's arrest smacks of petty revenge for his role at a Moscow press conference in April, when he led Western protests against a vicious attack in the Soviet media upon another American correspondent. Mr Daniloff's insistence on raising the issue and condemning it as unworthy led, for the first time in Moscow, to the press conference slipping out of Soviet control.



The Washington Post

An American Hostage

THE SOVIETS who took the American journalist Nicholas Daniloff hostage last week have now compounded the original outrage by charging him with espionage and announcing that he will be tried as a spy. Mr. Daniloff, the Moscow correspondent of U.S. News & World Report, was kidnapped by the Soviet government, the one that spends so much of its time complaining that its benign and peaceful purposes in this world go woefully unacknowledged by the United States.

The talk coming out of Moscow has been uncommonly cynical, even by Kremlin standards. Its spokesmen have taken to parody in describing the various legal "protections" Mr. Daniloff will get and in putting forward the preposterous view that this trial, if it occurs, will have the purpose of discovering the truth. This imitation due process is a farce. So are the Kremlin's unconvincing lamentations that the United States has let a little matter get in the way of resolving the great life-and-death issues that confront and divide the superpowers. If Mr. Gorbachev & Co. wanted to get on with the business currently being negotiated between this country and the U.S.S.R. they would not be holding Nick Daniloff hostage.

Mr. Daniloff has been imprisoned for nearly a fortnight. In that time the U.S. government, which began by speaking in a number of voices and not very coherently, has finally managed to get more coherence — and indignation — into its message. The president publicly warned the Soviets on Monday about the consequences of their hostage-taking. But even as the government toughens up, one can expect considerable numbers of people to go the other way. It is already being hinted at that Mr. Daniloff may have violated some Soviet laws unconnected to the seizure of the package the authorities planted on him. As the Soviet system — its rules, habits and statutes — is fundamentally inimical to the practice of journalism as we understand that term in the West, it would be surprising if the Soviet authorities could not find some law to incriminate any journalist in Moscow who has been doing a good job.

What is important is that we in this country — for once — should not sink into the sea of doubt that often marks these hostage episodes. We do not need to go around looking for clues as to how some misguided action on the part of the United States impelled the Russians to do this. We don't need to buy the line that Nick Daniloff must have been doing something shady. We don't need to accept the idea that there is some rough equivalence between Mr. Daniloff and the apprehended Gennadi Zakharov.

Above all, we do not need to settle into that bemused state of mind whereby we subtly transform an outrage into a way of life, a kind of business-as-usual condition, letting the unjust imprisonment of this man become a kind of intermittent but semipermanent "issue", one that loses all its urgency and its impact. The Soviets must be made to understand a) that there is a real price for this, and b) that it will get higher, not lower, with the passage of each day.

KGB the only winner in the affair

By Gary Lee of The Washington Post

MOSCOW — When the KGB took American reporter Nicholas Daniloff to prison it undercut the campaign Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and his aides had launched to shore up Moscow's ragged relations with the United States and the Western press. In so doing, it gave the first real indication of how much power the state security organ wields in Soviet-American relations under the new Soviet leadership.

In the three-way struggle for influence with the party and the government, the KGB was the only seeming winner in the Daniloff arrest. The consequences of an arrest widely viewed in the West as a set-up could bear heavily on relations between Washington and Moscow.


Mr Nicholas Daniloff

The arrest of an American in Moscow, which was uncommon, alarming and controversial even during the Cold War, contradicts the line toward Washington that both the Foreign Ministry and the Communist Party had been toeing in recent months. Gorbachev, as the party's leader, had not only called for a thaw in relations but had criticized Washington for failing to respond to his goodwill gestures and thus poisoning the atmosphere.

Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze had just rescheduled a canceled trip to Washington for talks with Secretary of State George P. Shultz. "We are seeking normal relations," Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov told journalists. "This case should not affect our principle, which is to seek an improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations."

Efforts by Soviet officials to woo the Western press, too, had been going strong recently. With press conferences, briefings and improved contacts with Soviet officials, Moscow was seeking the Western press assistance in advertising the Kremlin's various proposals, particularly on arms control.

But on Aug. 22, the FBI arrested a Soviet employee of the United Nations in New York, Gennadi Zakharov, who had no diplomatic immunity. U.S. security officials indicated they had been observing him for an extended period of time. Western diplomats in Moscow widely agree that the Daniloff arrest was a KGB retaliatory move for the FBI's arrest of Zakharov one week earlier, although it undoubtedly required approval of senior ministry and party officials.

To a Western observer in Moscow without knowledge of the factors that went into the decision to arrest Daniloff, it seems to reflect a subjugation of the political interest of the Soviet Communist Party and Foreign Ministry in working for more stable relations with the United States, to that of the KGB in saving face, and perhaps recapturing an accused operative.

Many Western observers in Moscow view Daniloff's arrest as a contrived frame-up and say it follows more aggressive KGB operations abroad under Victor Chebrikov, who became director of the secret police two years ago. "It shows that the KGB under Gorbachev does not have a new look and resorts to the same old crude tactics," said a senior Western diplomat.

INSIDE

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

New visas will heap injustice on injustice

Your leader (September 7) correctly condemns as racist the imposition of a visa requirement on visitors from five Third World countries, in particular the Indian subcontinent. However, there is one particular consequence you ignore and, in so doing, underestimate the Kafka-like world of immigration control.

During the last few years I have, as an immigration lawyer, represented many men who have been refused entry to join their wives or fiancées. These have invariably been men from India, Pakistan, or Bangladesh who have been told that the "primary purpose" of their marriage is simply to live in the UK.

This notorious "primary purpose" rule has itself been rightly condemned as racist and an attack on traditional arranged marriages.

The only way such refusals can be challenged is by an appeal to an immigration adjudicator. Unfortunately such appeals are heard in the UK, with the appellant usually about 6,000 miles away.

I have had numerous letters from Home Office ministers stating that the immigration appeal system is purposely designed for hearings in the absence of appellants. This renders it somewhat unusual even under the norms of British justice.

I have therefore advised appellants to fly to this country as visitors to attend their own appeals, surely a legitimate enough reason for a visit. Nonetheless not one of these men have been allowed in without several hours of questioning, often spread over several days. The fact that none of these men were actually sent back was due to local political campaigning and not to any legal process.

None was given a proper entry stamp, but were allowed in simply at the mercy of the Home Office and under threat of removal at any time.

Every one of those men who attended his appeal, won his case, whereas I understand the normal rate of victory is about 12 per cent. Now, because of the new visa requirements, none of them will ever get as far as this country. They will be told by the British high commissions what they are now told — incorrectly — by Heathrow immigration officers that a visit to attend one's own appeal is not a "bona fide" motive.

Of course, in theory, these men will then be able to appeal against the visa refusal, but these appeals will be heard in the UK in the absence of the appellants. And so it could go on ad infinitum.

Steve Cohen,
Manchester.

The Government's visa solution to the appalling queues and conditions at Heathrow airport's immigration controls is nothing less than a racist insult to the people of the New Commonwealth countries concerned.

The Home Office knows full well that the reasons lie not with a shortage of immigration staff but the racist nature of our immigration laws. If you're white from an EEC or Old Commonwealth country, you're welcome. If you're black from the New Commonwealth, your only welcome is hours of waiting at Heathrow in a cramped room with no refreshments, yet more hours of degrading questions and a possible stay at Harmondsworth prison.

P. Sheppard,
West Midlands Industrial Language Training Service,
Walsall.

Pain of detention in Kenya

It is unfortunate that you have not been able to give more prominence to news of the many people detained in Kenya over recent months under legislation which allows for indefinite detention without charge "on the grounds of public security."

Those detained, some of over four months, include George Mkangi, senior lecturer in sociology at the University of Nairobi; Okech Owiti, lecturer in criminal law at the same university; Ngotho wa Kariuki, former dean of the university's commerce faculty; Kariuki Gathitu, a computer science lecturer; Mukaru Nganga, a lecturer who had previously spent three years in detention; and Clement Oyaya, lecturer in fine arts at a teacher training college in Nyeri.

They are all held incommunicado without access to lawyers or relatives. Amnesty International have been inquiring in vain for details of why they are held.

More recently on June 30 Wanyiri Kihoro was arrested and has since been held incommunicado and without charge. He is known to many in Britain as a member of the staff of the Africa Centre.

I fear that the only cause for the detention of these men is that they are believed to hold critical views about the policies of the present Kenya government. There is increasing concern about the conditions under which they are being detained. The detentions, in a country which has close relations with Britain, should be treated as an abuse of human rights which demands the fullest exposure and scrutiny.

Lord Gifford, (QC),
Wellington Street,
London WC2.

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How Trotsky paved the way to justice for Stalin's victims

Geoffrey Robertson selects Nicolai Bukharin for rehabilitation in his article "The day of the mad dogs", (August 31). *All* the Bolsheviks falsely accused and murdered on Stalin's orders after the atrocious frame-up of the Moscow trials should be rehabilitated.

What sort of rehabilitation is it if Bukharin's political role and record is falsified with an analysis of the Moscow trials which is a sheer distortion of the true history for which documents and records abound?

The principal defendant in all three Moscow trials was Leon Trotsky. Leader of the left opposition, all of whose members were expelled from the party in 1927, Trotsky was deported from the USSR in 1929, and was living in exile in Norway in August 1936.

The main objective of the Moscow trials was the physical and political elimination of Trotsky and the left opposition. Zinoviev and Kamenev, chief among the accused on August 15, 1936, were selected by Stalin precisely because they had led the campaign against "Trotskyism" from the time they formed a secret faction with Stalin and Bukharin before Lenin's death in 1924. In 1926 they joined the left opposition. A year later they capitulated to Stalin and, at the 15th congress they recanted and were readmitted into the party and the central committee.

During their brief membership of the left opposition they explained how they had, with the utmost sophistry, strung together, torn out of context, criticisms by Lenin of Trotsky before the revolution in 1917, which were then published in the anti-Trotskyist slander campaign.

In October 1924 after the defeat of the German revolution, Stalin first presented his theory of "socialism in a single country." The politically logical consequences of this theory — fully supported by Bukharin, Zinoviev and Kamenev — were, "kulak get rich" and "socialism at a snail's pace."

Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov, leaders and organisers of the left opposition, rallied all the revolutionary elements in opposition to "socialism in a single country" and all its consequences. In Revolution Betrayed, first published in 1936, he wrote: "It is not a question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very method of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy. A restoration of the right to criticism, and a genuine freedom of elections are necessary conditions for the further development of the country."

More than ever the fate of the October revolution was bound up with that of Europe and the whole world, he continued " . . . We are building socialism. A greater fact, however . . . is the preparation of a European and world revolution."

It was Trotsky's defence of Marxism, and the perspectives and conquests of the October revolution, that provided the strength to continue his revolutionary struggle against Stalinism to the very day of his assassination on August 20, 1940, by Stalin's agents.

His foundation of the Fourth International as the party of world socialist revolution laid the basis for the rehabilitation of all the victims of Stalinist persecutions.

Vanessa Redgrave,
The Workers Revolutionary Party,
London E1.

Communist confessions

More than 40 years ago Harold Laski gave me a verbatim account of the Bukharin trial, I lent it to Churchill who returned it to Laski with much courtesy.

Contrary to his usual practice, he cannot have read it well or he would not have written of "the merciless but perhaps not needless purges," and of the "masterful Vishinsky." Laski had no doubts. The trials were monstrous perversions and Vishinsky contemptible.

A version edited by Boris Ponomarov may be seen at the British Museum. Doctor Levin confesses to the "murder" of Maxim Gorki by luring him to Moscow to catch pneumonia. As for Yagoda, head of the secret police, he can hardly have committed crimes to which Stalin was not party.

The trials must be taken in the context of the secret trials and execution of the leading generals, including Marshal Tukhachevsky. They were begun because two NKVD agents brought from Heydrich a dossier on Tukhachevsky which had been partly prepared by General Skoblin, a Russian emigré.

The mystery is whether Stalin believed Nazi forgeries. As a realist he may have wished to convince Hitler that the Soviet Union would never go to war against Germany. In fact Hitler said that the Red Army would be useless for six years. Chamberlain thought much the same.

All the generals have been declared innocent on the initiative of Khrushchev. Not so the communists, although they are likely to be cleared one day, as they wished.

In his masterpiece, Darkness at Noon, Arthur Koestler suggests that they had other crimes on their conscience. Certainly Bukharin showed dignity and courage. If he had not confessed, it is unlikely that George Carey of the BBC would have been able to visit his daughter this year in Moscow. Many relatives of the accused owed their lives to the confessions.

Raymond Blackburn,
Homefield Road,
London W4.

Refugees in the crossfire

While the world's press is engaged in absorbing detective work to trace the embarkation port of the ship that dumped Tamil refugees on the shores of Canada, a major tragic drama is about to unfold in faraway Djibouti involving thousands of Ethiopian refugees.

In a circular signed by the Minister of Interior on July 29, refugees were told that they had "no future on Djiboutian soil" and that, in any case, the reasons that led them to leave their country had "ceased to exist," and as a result they "should no more be considered as refugees." Thus the government of Djibouti, in close consultation with the government of Ethiopia and the UNHCR, will start what the circular euphemistically calls "Voluntary Repatriation" of refugees as of September 1, 1986. This circular has caused fear and panic among the refugee community. Indeed, we have received several letters from refugees in Djibouti expressing the fear that they will be repatriated against their will.

It may be reassuring for a refugee not seeking repatriation to know the existence of a committee set up to examine individual requests for the continuation of asylum. However, that refugee would be forgiven for thinking, upon reading the government circular, that her/his case has been pre-judged. Furthermore, if an individual request for asylum is turned down, not only is there no right of appeal but the individual must leave the Djiboutian territory. Since all programmes of assistance for resettlement to third countries have been suspended, what choice is left?

The UNHCR should clarify its position regarding this planned repatriation and ensure that it does all in its power to ensure that no refugee is involuntarily repatriated.

F. H. Marian, P. Waever,
J. Barnabas,
Guildford Street,
London WC1.

Fuelling Sikh terrorism

Your analysis billed as "comment" on myriad problems faced by the young and inexperienced Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, is illuminating but has a few significant omissions.

The economic dimension of religious fundamentalism, or ethnic separatism is totally ignored. What is happening in India is that job opportunities are few, the "mixed" economy has not generated that level of economic growth which can absorb the many demands for jobs/social services of the burgeoning population. This is applicable to Sikh fundamentalism, conflict between Muslims and Hindus in Gujerat and Gurkha separatism.

Secondly, the external dimension of Sikh fundamentalism is sidelined. The expatriate Sikhs of Britain, Canada and the US have fuelled the forces of terrorism in the Punjab.

John Alexander,
Bala Hisar,
Mussoorie (U.P.), India.

Forrestal's end

How apt that the carrier, USS Forrestal, should have joined the American fleet now threatening to carry out a repeat attack on Libya. James Forrestal, US Defence Secretary until 1949, after whom the ship is named, went mad and jumped to his death from a window yelling, "The Russians are coming!"

Roger Woddis,
Windsor Road, London N13.

Unions agree on national minimum wage

THE Trades Union Congress in Brighton last week was a subdued affair which for the most part fell in with the wishes of its moderate leadership. It may not have advanced Labour's electoral prospects greatly, but at least it did not wreak the damage on the party which so many TUC gatherings have inflicted in the past.

The party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, pleased the delegates with his plan for economic regeneration and was heard respectfully even when he suggested that a government run by him would not allow any sectional interest — including, presumably, the trade unions — to dictate policy. His emphasis on consensus to help the poor and to create jobs was interpreted by some of the skilled unions as a warning that pay would not be at the top of a Labour Government's agenda, and that there would not be unlimited resources to concede large wage settlements.

The conference even went along with the idea of a national minimum wage but avoided the tricky question of a national incomes policy, to which most union leaders remain implacably opposed even though it is an essential part of any scheme to improve the lot of the unemployed and the low-paid. Since earnings are already rising three times faster than prices, Mr Kinnock will have to state clearly, as he failed to do at Brighton, precisely what strategy the party would employ to deal with incomes.

A controversial demand for the phasing out of all nuclear power plants was defeated, though only by a narrow 60,000 votes (about one per cent). The TUC, which had previously supported the "balanced" development of all energy resources, including nuclear, settled instead for a demand that all further nuclear development be frozen until a full-scale energy review has been carried out.

The nuclear controversy will resurface, however, at Labour's conference later this month, when the party will be asked to commit itself to phasing out all existing nuclear stations — a process that would take decades to complete. Hitherto the party has spoken only of a "diminishing" dependence on nuclear sources or, at most, a "pause" pending a review of safety in the nuclear industry.

The leaders of the Liberal and Social Democratic Parties, who are at odds over whether or not to replace or update Britain's Polaris nuclear deterrent system, made light of their policy differences when they visited Nato headquarters in Belgium and stressed their commitment to strengthening Europe's contribution to its own defences. The Liberal leader, Mr David Steel, and his SDP counterpart, Dr David Owen, both made it clear that those defences would include a nuclear element. While this will please Dr Owen's party, which holds its annual conference next week, it may prove less palatable to the Liberals when they meet the following week.

The High Court rejected a claim that the former Home Secretary, Mr Leon Brittan, had acted unlawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper for the security services to maintain vigilance over CND, which it viewed as Communist-penetrated and therefore subversive.

Though CND lost its case, it succeeded in establishing a major constitutional point: the right of the courts to review serious allegations about illegal telephone taps. Counsel for the Home Secretary had tried to persuade the court that national security precluded it from conducting any inquiry into the legality or otherwise of a telephone tapping warrant. The judge disagreed. To accept that argument, he said, "would be to say that the court should never inquire into a complaint against a minister if he says his policy is to maintain silence in the interests of national security."

Vauxhall Motors, a subsidiary of General Motors, announced plans to shed 1,000 jobs at its car plants at Luton, in Bedfordshire, and Ellesmere Port on Merseyside. The company, which shed 1,700 jobs at its van division two months ago, made a record loss of £47 million last year and is now trying to cut its costs by 24 per cent.

A Pakistani family went into hiding to prevent their two-year-old adopted son from being deported on the orders of the Home Office. The child, Khuram Azad, was adopted last year by Mr and Mrs Abdul Khaliq and is the natural son of Mr Khaliq's sister-in-law, who lives in Pakistan. The Home Office said this week it would review the case. It maintains, however, that "there has not been a genuine transfer of parental responsibility" (the adoption was effected in Pakistan) and that Khuram's natural parents were able to care for him. When the child was brought to Britain last year, immigration officials would only grant him temporary admission.

The Home Office said this week that "We have a particularly emotional instance here because we are talking about a child. But, in essence, it is no different from someone else settling in this country." The minister responsible for immigration, Mr David Waddington, emphatically denied that the Government was being heartless and accused the Khaliq family of reneging on an agreement that they would take the child back to Pakistan.

An inquest on 55 people who died in an aircraft fire in Manchester last year was told that two engine defects had been recorded in the technical log of the Boeing 737 three days before one of its engines caught fire during take-off. An engineer said that, though an investigation failed to find anything wrong with the port engine, the plane was booked in for a more thorough examination. This was to have been conducted the day after the fire, in which most of the victims were trapped inside the burning cabin.

The inquest, which is expected to last at least two weeks, will also want to know why there was no water in the fire hydrants near where the Boeing came to rest after its aborted take-off and why there was apparent confusion about the rendezvous points earmarked for the use of emergency services. The coroner, Mr Leonard Gorodkin, said that while fire and ambulance services went to one of the prearranged points, the police went to another.

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN by James Lewis

Gold reaches three-year peak on hijack fear

By Margareta Pagano

GOLD has shot up to a new three-year peak prompted by fears of renewed US-Libyan tensions following the Karachi highjacking.

Speculation that the Libyans were involved with the hijacking was enough to trigger a sharp rise in the metal. The gold price, which had already broken through the $400 an ounce level earlier in the week on fears for the world economy and the weak dollar, reached $420.50 an ounce and sent prices of all gold shares, and other precious metals, rising. On the Johannesburg Stock Exchange gold shares hit new peaks.

On the London exchange, shares also firmed, taking their cue from Wall Street where the Dow Jones Industrial Index hit a new record, up 38.38 to 1,919.71. Dealers are now looking for the Dow to break the 2,000 level.

Hopes of concerted action on interest rates by the US and Japanese sparked a strong performance in the dollar on the foreign exchanges. News that the Japanese Finance Minister, Kiichi Miyazawa, was flying to Washington to meet his US counterpart, the Treasury Secretary, Mr James Baker, to discuss "mutual financial and economic affairs", prompted widespread speculation that the two governments are planning joint interest rate cuts. The meeting follows repeated requests from Mr Baker.

But reports that the West German Finance Minister would not be joining them ruled out any hopes for a rushed G-5 meeting for an international attack on interest rates. Washington has been putting pressure on West Germany, and Japan, to boost their economies with joint cuts.

Better news on the economic front also helped interest in the dollar, which appreciated against sterling. New figures showed the employment rate in the US fell for the third successive month in August to 6.8 per cent — the lowest since January. This compared with forecasts of a moderate rise in unemployment because of the weakness in manufacturing.

Nissan pledges major UK plant expansion

By Peter Hetherington

WITH the Prime Minister nodding approvingly, senior directors of Nissan announced this week that their company will rapidly expand a new pilot plant in the North-east to qualify as a major "British" car manufacturer within the EEC.

Shortly before Mrs Thatcher opened the £50 million venture, Nissan's president, Mr Yatuka Kume, announced that the firm planned an exporting onslaught on Europe from the Sunderland factory later in the decade.

Plans for an expansion of the plant, increasing output fourfold by 1991 to 100,000 cars annually, have been brought forward two years after a deal reached last week with the Trade and Industry Secretary, Mr Paul Channon.

As well as introducing car body and plastics moulding facilities — many components are currently shipped from Japan — Nissan plans to build engines in the North-east.

Mr Kume later suggested that the company had decided to push ahead with the £380 million second stage of the project because of the high value of the Japanese yen.

"There are now more cost benefits in producing locally because of its fast appreciation," he said. The Government is to contribute over £100 million in development grants and selective aid.

Under the deal, Nissan will increase the European content of its cars to 60 per cent in two years' time, reaching 80 per cent by 1991 when the workforce should have risen from 470 to 2,700.

The company has told Mr Channon that it intends to assign "significant" design and development responsibilities to Europe, and will concentrate them in the UK to the "maximum extent possible".

Welcoming the decision the minister said: "This is good news for the North-east and Britain and makes Nissan a fully-fledged UK car manufacturer and a major exporter. From 1988, the cars will have a high local content and the project will therefore generate many jobs not just at the Sunderland plant itself but throughout the UK component industry."

New coal chief goes over Scargill's head

By Keith Harper

THE new chairman of British Coal, Sir Robert Haslam, has gone over the head of Mr Arthur Scargill in an attempt to make a fresh start in the industry and clear up much of the bad blood which still exists in the coalfields.

Without consulting the National Union of Mineworkers in advance, his first important act as chairman was to impose last year's disputed pay deal on the NUM. All NUM members will therefore be given an £8-a-week pay rise in their pay packets, back-dated to September 1, an act which Mr Scargill described as "diabolical".

The £8 rise has already been paid to the Union of Democratic Mineworkers. Some NUM members who worked during the 12-month coal strike, which collapsed in March last year, and who have paid some pension contributions, will be given retrospective increases for the period between November last year when the pay deal should have commenced, and this August.

Sir Robert said the decision to impose the pay increase was influenced by the mood of the miners he had met at the eight collieries he had visited over the past two months. "They have been saying to me: 'Ignore Mr Scargill — You are the gaffer. It is in your hands. Get on with it.' That has been the mood of the miners and we felt we had to take positive action!"

The chairman dealt at length with the controversial question of dismissed miners, and made it clear that no dramatic developments could be expected. More than half the 1,014 miners originally sacked had been taken back. "The board made it clear at the time of return to work that it would not reinstate men who had committed acts of vandalism, violence and intimidation, and this still remains the case.

Sir Robert shut the door on the hopes of nearly 100 miners whose case have been dealt with by industrial tribunals. He said they had been compensated and they would not return, but he promised to instigate a final review in the autumn of the remaining dismissals which fell outside these categories. In his tour of the coalfields, he said he formed the impression that miners did not feel as solidaly about this matter as some of the leaders.

The chairman dealt with the procedures for closing uneconomic pits. These would remain the same, but he agreed that coal would have to be obtained from a smaller number of faces. Eight collieries have been closed so far this year, half of the closures agreed at local level. So far, 14,000 miners have signalled their intention of leaving or have left the industry this year.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling Rates September 8	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	2.4163-2.4240	2.4240-2 4280
Austria	21.21 62-21.65	21 40-21.43
Belgium	63 58-63 78	63.15-63 34
Canada	2 0581-2.0609	2.0746-2.0775
Denmark	11 62-11.64	11 58-11.59
France	10 05-10.07	10.01-10.05
Germany	3.074-3.079	3.05-3 06
Hong Kong	11.60-11.61	11.67-11.68
Ireland	1 1167-1 1177	1.1105-1.1115
Italy	2,118-2,122	2,108-2,113
Japan	231.82-232.20	232.11-232.67
Netherlands	3.46-3 47	3.41-3.45
Norway	10 94-10.95	10.92-10.94
Portugal	218 58-220.22	216 64-218.48
Spain	200 83-201.11	199.92-200 20
Sweden	10.32-10.34	10.31-10.33
Switzerland	2.510-2.513	2.47-2.48
USA	1 4865-1.4875	1.4975-1.4985
ECU	1.4606-1.4624	1.4528-1.4546

FT 30 Share Index 1323·7 Gold $418·00

Why should I be expected to feel sorry for these dopes?

MAYBE it's because I'm a Londoner that, arriving at Euston last weekend, I could tell the old slag blind-fold. Degrees warmer than anywhere else in the country, degrees smellier. The distinctive crunch of polystyrene underfoot and those inimitable Cockney-sparrah ripostes all around: eff off you m-f or I'll slice your b's off. What wit. What olde worlde charm.

I proceed to the Beeb for a prog. Afterwards, the studio telephone rings. Would I contribute to a worthy anti-drugs campaign being run by a local radio station? Something brief and succinct like 'JT says drugs screw you up.' I say no thanks and hear the sharp intake of breath by my caller, who now believes I approve of drugs, want everyone on them, am hooked myself, probably a pusher. I go home and listen to the plangent wails of four friends whose six-foot children are about to freak out, demand money with menaces, massacre their loved ones and scramble their brains on account of drugs. Then a neighbourhood six-footer appears at the door and rambles on for several eons about the druggie joys of Glastonbury, Stonehenge, Aberystwyth and somewhere benighted in Normandy, meanwhile clicking his eyes about in their sockets like red snooker balls. Later, I watch that drug commercial on TV — actor tastefully plastered in green Max Factor, whining "I can handle it" while hoping like mad for an Equity card. And so to bed, choked.

As a society, our attitude to drugs is pathetic to the point of lunacy. On the one hand we have the punitive brigade led by the Mesdames Whitehouse, Reagan and Thatcher who believe, from their ivory towers of invincible ignorance, that the odd spliff makes you a drug fiend who ought to be hanged and, on the other hand, that caring *understanding* army of mournful liberals who keep on about the sadness of it all, blame everything from unemployment to the Bomb and treat the drug-sodden as if they were invaluable pieces of Ming porcelain deserving of huge lumps of our money and attention for their rehabilitation. Misunderstood, somehow. Glamorous, somehow.

By Jill Tweedie

Myself, I am in neither camp and think both ludicrously wide of the mark. Drugs screw *you* up? *You* can handle it? Frankly, I don't give a toss. The point is, drugs screw up your Mum, your old man, your Nan, your aunties, your second cousin twice removed. Drugs screw up your friends and neighbours, the people whose houses you break and enter, the kids whose precious bikes you steal, the old age pensioners whose savings you rip off. It's us, matie, who get screwed up, who can't handle it. *Us.*

For the plain fact is that the sheer ego of a druggie has to be thought out to be believed. Nothing matters to him but him. The world can fall apart, they can stockpile enough missiles to wipe us all out three times over, they can burn in South Africa, get tortured in Guatemalan gaols, starve by the million in Ethiopia or get radiated by nuclear waste on their own doorsteps while the wretched druggie squats in a corner sticking pills and needles into himself. At enormous cost, too, and I do not mean to his health which, for all I care, he can stick as well. If anyone else in our society went about expecting, say, £60 every day of the week of every month of every year for clothes, entertainment, fast cars, yachts, drink, fags or any other single commodity, we would mark him out as the hideous face of capitalism. But if the commodity is a drug, large numbers of us make lugubrious faces and whinge about the sadness of it all. Sad? It's diabolical. Show me the human suffering for which your average paid-up druggie would exert himself in the same way. Not him. He prefers to spend his time clawing in money by hook and mainly by crook and spends every penny on his own self so that he, His Highness, may experience a few totally predictable hallucinations, which — he often has the gall to tell us — reveal some earth-shattering truth about Life.

If a druggie happens to be rich and famous, worse happens. To obsessive media attention, he gets clapped into some fur-lined bin where cooing therapists stroke out of him one or two stale memories of childhood at £1,000 a throw. Then he emerges to have his photo taken, cured till the next time. Meanwhile, they witter on about the scrounging unemployed.

I've heard all the arguments in the druggies' favour. Difficult times, no jobs, no future, polluted environment, wicked cities, racial prejudice, rotten education, it's all our fault, what a world, who can wonder. And it isn't nice, is it, to criticise another generation — it's mean, it's blinkered, it was better for us. Yet there still exist millions of young people who somehow manage to stagger through the wastelands without crutches of solid gold, which is what drugs are, when analysed.

I don't hold with short or long shocks in prison, where drugs are on the whole easier to obtain than on the outside. Nor do I hold with the patient, gloomy psychological approach that treats druggies as special and puts drug abuse down to personal trauma or social pressures. In my view, drug-takers, the heavy variety, should be treated with the dismissive contempt they deserve as cop-outs, possessors of outsize egos, cowards, finks and domestic exploiters of the meanest kind. And most of all, they should be seen clearly for what every one of them is. Mindbendingly, toe-curlingly, skin-creepingly, eye-wateringly, headachingly *boring*.

Ted Moult found dead

By Martin Wainwright

THE farmer and broadcaster Ted Moult, whose yeoman qualities drew on the old English tradition of the wise rustic, was found shot dead last week in the office of his Derbyshire farm. His family said he had shot himself. He was 60.

Although famous for his cheerful humour, zest and charitable work — his diary of money-raising appearances was full for weeks ahead — he had recently been depressed about his health and the financial effects of a poor season on his "pick-your-own" strawberry business at Scaddow's Farm, Ticknall, whose 300 acres had been his home for more than 30 years.

The son and grandson of drapers, he went on to the land in Derbyshire at 15, became a tenant farmer at Sinfin, near Derby, in 1948 and bought Scaddow's in the late 1950s. The nous which took him from farmhand to farmer was fortified by a store of general knowledge which came into its own in 1959. After writing to various BBC shows suggesting that he might be an improvement on their existing panellists, he entered the Brain of Britain competition and won.

In the Sixties and early Seventies he appeared on dozens of quiz and panel programmes, such as Ask Me Another and What's My Line, flourishing alongside contrasting characters like Lady Isobel Barnet.

Hope of vaccine against Aids

By Andrew Veitch

AN AIDS vaccine that could both prevent infection and treat people in the first stages of infection is being developed by British and US scientists, it was announced last week at the British Association for the Advancement of Science meeting in Bristol. If it works, the first to benefit will be those at risk of the disease, including babies of infected mothers.

Initial tests in primates show that the vaccine generates antibodies capable of neutralising the virus and the blood cells in which its hides and replicates.

It represents the first real hope for more than two million people worldwide who have already been infected, but will come too late for the hundreds of thousands who have developed the full-blown fatal disease.

Details were disclosed last week by Professor Bill Jarrett of Glasgow University, who has been seconded to Washington as coordinator of the US National Cancer Institute's Aids vaccination programme. "I am hopeful of getting an Aids vaccine soon," he told the British Association, "but one can never put a time limit on it. It depends on a lot of luck in the lab."

His team has made the artificial vaccine by isolating a protein called GP 120 from the spikes that cover the coat of the Aids virus. The protein is inserted into an "Iscom" — an immuno-stimulating complex — and injected into the subject. The prototype has been given to rhesus monkeys and gibbons. The animals have produced antibodies which are capable of neutralising both the virus itself and the infected cells, said Professor Jarrett. "This shows it is possible to make a preparation to produce the kind of antibody which is normally protective."

The discovery stems partly from Professor Jarrett's work on cats who develop feline Aids after infection with feline leukaemia virus. A vaccine developed to protect cats against the infection also kills the virus in those that have been infected.

The hope, Professor Jarrett explained, is that the same thing will happen in humans, allowing treatment of those recently infected, but it will not help people in the later stages whose immune system has been destroyed.

Minister attacks US over import curbs

By David Simpson

THE Trade and Industry Secretary, Mr Paul Channon, last week launched a fierce broadside against the growing movement within the US toward strict import controls, ahead of the meeting of world trade ministers to debate a new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) in Uruguay later in the month.

"The US has been a major protagonist of the new Gatt round," Mr Channon told a Confederation of British Industry conference. "It must be clear to Congress as to the administration that you cannot simultaneously regenerate confidence in open trade and progressively limit access to the world's largest economy."

Referring to the European Community's belief that trade barriers should be reduced, Mr Channon suggested that the same could not be said of the US. "We see that where the community is cautiously liberalising in areas like machinery, textiles and steel, the US is still tightening up."

Mr Channon argued that in the present US debate on trade policy, there were persistent pleas for "a level playing field." But, Mr Channon said: "The truth is that the playing field is uneven. There are bumps in every corner, and smoothing them out is a task for multilateral effort, not for trigger-happy unilateralism."

British Telecom adjusts charges

By Peter Large

BRITISH TELECOM is again cutting its telephone charges to big business, while making the home customer and many small local firms pay at least 2 per cent more. Changes announced by BT, to be introduced in November, include a rise in the cost of peak-hour local calls and decreases for long-distance calls.

The Telecom Users' Association said the only people to benefit would be corporations with a lot of long-distance and international traffic. Even big banks would suffer, because of their amount of local calls. BT made a pre-tax profit of £1.81 billion in 1985.

Lethal cocktail killed Olivia Channon

By Martin Wainwright

A MIXTURE of heroin, drink and amphetamines killed Olivia Channon, the daughter of Mr Paul Channon, the Secretary for Trade, an inquest at Oxford heard last week. She died slowly of poisoning after collapsing on a friend's bed at Christ Church College following a party to mark the end of her final examinations.

Miss Channon, who was 22, and left £500,000 in her will, was described by the coroner, Mr Nicholas Gardiner, as "no stranger to drugs". He recorded a verdict of misadventure.

Friends told the inquest that they had expressed concern about her use of heroin but she was strong willed and difficult to influence.

Count Gottfried von Bismarck, the Christ Church student on whose bed Miss Channon died, said that the party on June 10 had begun with champagne on the pavement outside the examination schools.

More champagne followed in his rooms and at the college bar, where a group of friends drank black velvets — Guinness with champagne. Miss Channon had a pint of sherry on the table although he did not know how much of it she had drunk.

Mr Sebastian Guinness, Miss Channon's third cousin, who travelled from London for the party, said that the group then returned to von Bismarck's rooms. He found himself in the bathroom with some of the others "very drunk" and went on: "Olivia was taking something, claiming it was heroin. She took it through a tube sticking up her nose."

The inquest heard that Miss Channon had been "crashed out" on von Bismarck's bed with Mr Nicholas Vincent, aged 24, a post-graduate history student at St Peter's who also described himself as very drunk. The party had left the room littered with paper and books and there was a pile of broken glass outside a window.

Olivia Channon

Mr Vincent said that he had woken twice during the night but assumed that Miss Channon was in a deep sleep. It was only at breakfast-time the following day, when her body was stiff and her face discoloured, that he realised something was "dreadfully wrong".

The inquest heard that several people had seen the couple on the bed during the night and had assumed that nothing was wrong.

Mr Arthur Ives, a Christ Church porter, gave written evidence that he had turned out the room's light and shut the door at 12.30am when the couple were in the position as at 10.30pm when he had made his previous round. "I see quite a lot of students' rooms and they are usually in a mess," he said. "I decided that nothing was amiss."

OBITUARY

Guardian's man on the spot

DAVID WOODWARD, the author and war correspondent who covered the end of the second world war for the Guardian from D-Day onwards, died last week at the age of 76. He had been admitted to the Churchill Hospital, Oxford, for a minor operation.

Woodward was recruited to the paper after beginning his working life with the pre-war League of Nations in Geneva. From 1936-43, he worked for the News Chronicle as foreign correspondent. He was filing from Berlin for the Chronicle when war broke out, and went on to report the sieges of Tobruk and Malta.

Guardian executives of the time were sceptical about recruiting him as special war correspondent with Montgomery's forces. They thought he might be too infected with popular journalism.

But he became one of the first three journalists to reach Normandy by air, landing by glider with a parachute unit in an asparagus field near Caen. Although wounded by mortar fire, he filed what the Guardian's official history describes as a "first-class piece of writing".

Later he covered the liberation of Paris, Brussels, Copenhagen and Belsen. After the war he worked for Unesco in Paris, spent three years as press attaché to the British Legation in Israel, then became a producer in BBC radio Features, where he worked until his retirement in 1969.

He published eight books, six of them naval histories. The most successful were The Tirpitz and The Russians at Sea. His friend and fellow war correspondent, Tom Pocock, of the London Standard, said: "He was a very good, extremely brave, reflective journalist who saw the news in historical terms."

He leaves a widow and daughter.

THE WEEK

THE Government has released Miss Benazir Bhutto, Pakistan's leading opposition figure, and hundreds of other opposition leaders and activists arrested in a massive crackdown last month, but warned that it would not tolerate any new unrest.

The government of Sind province said that all political prisoners, except those facing criminal charges, were being released. Punjab state government also told the High Court it was dropping detention orders against at least 225 opposition activists and was releasing them.

"The magnanimous gesture of the Government should not be misunderstood, as the Government is prepared to deal firmly with any future interference with law," a statement said.

Miss Bhutto, aged 33, released after 25 days in gaol, said she had no intention of abandoning her drive to topple President Zia ul-Haq and force elections.

Miss Bhutto said the Government's action in releasing her precipitated court action to free her. "The court would have freed me tomorrow because my detention was illegal, unconstitutional and undemocratic," she said.

ONE person was killed and 16 people were injured, four seriously, when a bomb exploded on Monday in a post office at Paris City Hall. The Prime Minister, Mr Jacques Chirac, who is also Mayor of Paris, was not in his office in the City Hall at the time. He was presiding at a meeting on security and terrorism. After visiting the scene, he went on television to denounce terrorism as the plague of modern times.

Speculation on responsibility for the blast centres on the Committee of Solidarity with Arab and Middle East Political Prisoners, which a week ago called for the release of three terrorists held in French gaols. *(Le Monde, pages 11/14.)*

FOURTEEN people died and more than 50 were injured at the weekend when fire swept through a high-rise hotel in the southern Norwegian resort town of Kristiansand. Dozens of guests were trapped.

A POWERFUL car bomb ripped through the façade of West Germany's counter-intelligence headquarters in Cologne in the third terrorist attack in recent weeks on federal agencies. The Interior Minister, Mr Friedrich Zimmermann, said terrorists were seeking to cause havoc with counter-intelligence gathering.

A spokesman at the Federal Prosecutor's Office in Cologne speculated that the Red Army Faction was responsible for the blast. Since the murder of the Munich industrialist Karl Heinz Beckurts in July, the country has seen a revival of terrorist activity.

A GRENADE attack by Muslim guerrillas during a wedding in a crowded Catholic Church on the southern island of Mindanao killed nine people and wounded 106 others, including the groom. Two rebels died during an ensuing gun battle. The incidents came two days after President Corazon Aquino met the Moro Islamic Liberation Front leader, Mr Nur Misuari, on the rebel-controlled island of Jolo, off the south-west coast of Mindanao. They agreed to negotiate a settlement to end 14 years of guerrilla warfare.

THE death toll from the sinking of the Soviet liner, the Admiral Nakhimov, reached 400 last week. The ship sank in 15 minutes — one of the worst disasters in Soviet post-war maritime history — after colliding with a large freighter in the Black Sea.

MR YITZHAK SHAMIR, the Israeli Foreign Minister and Likud leader, has been questioned by police about the killing of two Palestinian prisoners by secret service agents when he was Prime Minister in 1984.

Mr Shamir, who is due to take over the premiership from Mr Shimon Peres next month, reportedly denied allegations that he approved a cover-up by the Shin Bet Security Service about the killing of the two Arabs, captured alive after hijacking an Israeli civilian bus to the Gaza Strip.

PRESIDENT Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania announced last week that he is ready to cut his country's defence budget by 5 per cent this year, regardless of his obligations to the Warsaw Pact. He also indicated that if the Soviet Union did not like the idea, the Romanian people could decide in a referendum whether the cuts should be made.

SOUTH AFRICA'S opposition Progressive Federal Party last week won two byelections for the white House of Assembly. Both seats in the Cape Town suburbs of Pinelands and Claremont went uncontested by the ruling National Party.

A DELTA rocket last week blasted off from Cape Canaveral and sent into orbit two satellites in the first space-based test of President Reagan's Star Wars project. Despite the shroud of secrecy the launch was shown live on television.

Pinochet reacts to assassination attempt

CHILE's military authorities have begun rounding up leftwing politicians and closing down opposition publications in the wake of Sunday's failed attempt on the life of President Augusto Pinochet and the introduction of a state of siege.

Troops searched traffic in southern Santiago and launched house-to-house raids in working-class districts after the attack, in which guerrillas blew up a bridge over which the presidential motorcade was passing and opened fire with automatic weapons and rockets on security men, Government spokesmen said.

General Pinochet, who this week celebrates the 13th anniversary of the military coup which brought him to power, was returning to Santiago from his weekend residence south of the city. Six of his bodyguards were killed in the ambush or died later of their wounds, and 12 others were injured.

There was no information about guerrilla casualties.

The President, whose car was behind those blown up, escaped with slight injuries to his left hand from bomb fragments.

In the overnight raids by detectives on their homes, Socialist party leaders Ricardo Lagos, who is a leading member of the centre left opposition coalition the Democratic Alliance, and German Correa, who is also president of the leftwing coalition, the Popular Democratic Movement, were arrested. Rafael Marroto, of the Leftist Revolutionary Movement and leading leftwing journalists were also arrested. Police suspended six opposition magazines from publication.

The military Government also arrested five foreign priests, and ordered Reuter's Santiago bureau to halt its editorial operations until further notice.

By Malcolm Coad in Santiago

THIS was the first assassination attempt in 13 years of military rule (an anniversary which the Government celebrates this week), and according to General Pinochet's own description as he showed the television cameras the bullet holes in his car, was a precision attack. No more than 12 well-armed guerrillas were involved, according to the official version, and they rapidly wreaked destruction among the President's highly-trained bodyguard, killing six and destroying four vehicles.

Chileans are used to bombings by underground opposition groups, most of them small but some lethal. Some 40 police and soldiers have died in the past three years in armed incidents. But there has never been anything like this before. Few believed that what seemed to be only an incipient urban guerrilla movement, in the shape of the Communist-linked Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (the FPMR), amongst other smaller groups, would suddenly be capable of such a sophisticated action. The ambush has left many Chileans reeling, not so much with shock but with bewilderment. "I just don't understand it. There's something funny going on," is a frequent comment.

The Government recently revealed publicly the discovery of batches of M16 rifles, rocket launchers and explosives buried in sophisticated underground caches. There were even underground shooting ranges dug out of the Atacama desert.

It claimed the arms had been brought by Cuban and Russian boats and delivered to the FPMR. A total of 21 people, all of them allegedly FPMR or Communist Party militants, were arrested.

The Government built a major propaganda offensive on the finds, linking them to this week's anniversary of the military coup, and the need to support General Pinochet as the nation's defender against the international terrorist onslaught, but there is widespread scepticism whether the finds were genuine or were planted.

The Government immediately accused the FPMR of Sunday's ambush. If they are right then it will be dramatic confirmation of a degree of capability on the armed left greater than had been appreciated by almost anyone.

The FPMR is still a shadowy force, without any clear political programme beyond "adding a necessary armed element to the struggle of the masses to overthrow the dictatorship".

It first appeared in late 1983. Its most spectacular actions have been the kidnapping of a journalist at the Government newspaper, a policeman, and recently an army colonel. It has also placed several car bombs.



Grim reminders: Passengers from the hijacked PanAm aircraft wait at Karachi airport with the belongings retrieved from the aircraft.

Warning on hijack retaliation

By our Foreign Staff

BRITAIN'S Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, during his two-day visit to Washington this week will caution the Reagan Administration against retaliating for the Karachi hijack until there is hard evidence to pinpoint the organisers.

But British officials insisted that they had no indications of imminent US action nor that the the Government had been asked for the use of British bases even as a contingency.

Although aware that senior US officials claim that the breakaway Palestinian Abu Nidal group was involved in Karachi and Istanbul, and was probably working out of Libya, the view in London was that more evidence must be awaited, especially from the questioning of the four hijackers in Pakistani hands.

Washington Post, page 15

Abu Nidal is seen as a shadowy figure, who moves around eastern Europe as well as the Middle East, and the British Government wants far harder evidence than it has now that he and Colonel Gadafy are working together.

In Pakistan, President Zia said that the four hijackers would be hanged if they were convicted of hijacking and murder.

The death toll, meanwhile, from the hijack rose to 20 on Monday. A Karachi hospital spokesman said that four more people had died of wounds received. Two bodies were still unidentified, and a further 31 of the more than 100 people injured were still being treated.

Pakistanis have been angered by the remarks of India's Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi at the nonaligned summit in Harare that Pakistan had bungled the rescue attempt. He also accused the Pakistanis of encouraging hijacking, saying there was "official involvement, which had been documented" in an earlier hijack of an Indian aircraft.

(Bhutto released, see column 1)

ANC guerrillas hanged

By Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

THREE African National Congress guerrillas were hanged in Pretoria Central Prison on Tuesday. One of them, Andrew Zondo, aged 20, told his lawyers the day before that he was "not prepared to beg for his life," and instructed them not to petition President P. W. Botha for mercy.

All three were sentenced to death for acts of terror in South Africa's low-key but escalating civil war. Zondo planted a bomb which killed five civilians and his two comrades, Sipho Xulu and Clarency Payi, murdered a black man they suspected of being an informer.

On Monday police confirmed that three suspected ANC guerrillas were shot dead near the coastal city of Durban on Sunday night. They were intercepted by police after a house in the nearby black township of Kwamashu was attacked by men armed with hand grenades.

Before that, the wife of Mr Winnington Sabelo, a member of the central committee of Inkhatha, the Zulu movement headed by Chief Buthelezi, was killed when unknown assassins opened fire on her as she stepped out of her car at her home.

Zondo was sentenced to death five times in April after he was found guilty of murdering five people who were killed when a limpet mine exploded two days before Christmas last year in a busy shopping centre in the small town of Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Zondo, who was 19 at the time, admitted placing the bomb but denied that his intention was to kill and maim innocent civilians.

He had planned to warn the managers of the complex in time for them to clear it of Christmas shoppers, he told the court. He planted the limpet mine in retaliation for a raid on Lesotho by South African commandos three days earlier, he said in court. Nine Lesotho-based ANC cadres, including a white woman, Jackie Quinn, were shot dead by the raiders.

Xulu and Pai were sentenced to death for the murder of Ben Langa, a former leader of the now banned South African Students Organisation. Langa was one of the founding members of the pro-black consciousness Saso with Steve Biko, who died in detention in 1977.

The murder of Langa by ANC men, and their allegations that he had become an informer, shocked many people who knew him. The Langas are a well-known and respected black family in Maritzburg. They rejected charges that he had betrayed the black nationalist cause.

Xulu and Payi claimed in court that they had been told to assassinate Langa by a top ANC commander in the neighbouring state of Swaziland.

Reuter adds: A powerful explosion on Sunday ripped through a building in a run-down area of central Stockholm housing the office of the ANC, causing extensive damage but no injuries, police said.

Jews massacred at synagogue

By Charles Wallace in Istanbul and Ian Black in Jerusalem

TWO Arab-speaking gunmen killed 21 worshipping Jews at Istanbul's largest synagogue on Sunday. The gunmen entered during a service, barred the main door with an iron bar, and attacked the congregation with machine pistols and hand grenades before blowing themselves up.

The massacre led to a bitter cabinet crisis in Israel, when the Likud Trade Minister, Mr Ariel Sharon, claimed that it was the result of the Israeli Government's weakness. Mr Sharon said it was "the terrible answer of the Palestinians and their supporters . . . (to Israeli peace) concessions". But Mr Sharon later sent an apology to Mr Peres and retracted his statement.

A fourth organisation, the previously unknown International Fighting Front, joined other groups based in Beirut in claiming responsibility. The Libyan Government condemned the attack, but Libyan radio was reported to have described the synagogue as a base of "Zionist intelligence services".

The gunmen stormed the synagogue at 9.20am through the main entrance, an iron gate where one of the congregation was greeting arriving worshippers. Police sources said that the gunmen were wearing black sweatshirts, running shoes and masks.

Once inside the main chamber of the synagogue, they opened fire with their machine pistols, which were later found to be of Czech manufacture.

Some of the worshippers, who were mostly in their sixties and seventies tried to flee into an adjoining room, but the attackers followed them and shot them down. Then they set the bodies on fire with petrol. According to the authorities, the gunmen then returned to the centre of the synagogue and set off three hand grenades.

From the condition of the terrorists' bodies, it appeared that they had intentionally blown themselves up. Blood was splattered on the white plaster ceiling of the building some 40 feet above the floor.

"When the shooting began, we all threw ourselves on the floor. I pretended to be dead," said 17-year-old Rafi Saul, whose father, a doctor, was killed. "Briefly, I lifted my head to see what they were doing and saw them pouring gasoline on bodies to burn them."

Among those claiming responsibility for the attack were a caller claiming to speak for the "Palestine Revenge Organisation". He told a news agency in Nicosia, that "We will continue our struggle against the enemy and imperialists all over the world. There will be more attacks of a similar nature . . . Revenge for our martyrs."

With no hard information available about the perpetrators of the Istanbul attack, speculation was rife in Israel about their identity and motives, with military sources arguing that the operation bore the "fingerprints" of the dissident Palestinian Abu Nidal group.

Taking cover in savagery

By David Hirst in Nicosia

THE Istanbul Synagogue massacre, like the Karachi hijacking, has sown the usual crop of bizarre, hitherto unknown claimants.

This time there has been the Organisation of Palestinian Vengeance; the Islamic Resistance (presumably Shi'ite) declaring that their commandos punished the "nest of heretics" as an earnest of their intention to fight The Sons of Israel everywhere, and not just in South Lebanon; the International Combatant Organisation — Martyr Amroush Group, which destroyed this "nest of Mossad agents" in retaliation for the Israeli attack on a ship carrying Palestinian arms from Algeria — itself a hitherto unknown organisation — as well as Jordanian Palestinian War of Black September 1970.

One of these groups, the Islamic Resistance, has repudiated the claim made in its name and the likelihood is that whoever was — or were — behind both Karachi and Istanbul has not and will not claim them in any identifiable way, especially if, as speculation increasingly has it, Abu Nidal, the Palestinian super terrorist, was responsible for this double atrocity.

In its style and savagery, Istanbul, at least, seems to bear his stamp. He is believed to have masterminded similar attacks on synagogues in Rome, Vienna and Brussels. And as an Israeli expert has pointed out, simultaneity — the Rome and Vienna airport massacres of last December, for example — tends to bear one of his trademarks. And just when everybody was beginning to wonder whether the US raid on Libya last April might really have achieved its purpose, Abu Nidal — if Abu Nidal it was — could not have chosen a more characteristic way of serving notice that it has not.

There is of course every reason why Abu Nidal or his ilk should observe a deeper cover than usual. In Reagan's book Abu Nidal is almost synonymous with Colonel Gadafy — and sometimes President Assad. In the present that has certainly, in some measure, been true. Gadafy did not disguise his encounters with the world's most notorious terrorist. What the true relationship is now is unclear; it is clear, however, that Gadafy, fearful of another American raid, is distancing himself, more earnestly than usual, from "international terrorism," and, after Karachi, he told a press conference that it "pained and preoccupied" him that the four gunmen should be interrogated until they revealed "their identity, motives and why they committed such an atrocity."

That one Gadafy should publicly align himself with Reagan, the "new Hitler and failed actor" does not mean that another Gadafy really does so. He is congenitally ambiguous, to the point, sometimes, of schizophrenia. It is wholly typical that the young and uncouth firebrands who run one of his radio stations, Voice of the Greater Arab Nation, Voice of the Revolutionary Committees, should, probably without authority, have spoken for this other Gadafy. Unknown gunmen, it reported approvingly, had killed "at least 25 Zionists" in the synagogue, which, recently closed for repairs, had reopened as a "den of Zionist intelligence services".

Abu Nidal has served so many masters that up to a point this really makes him his own, and in that capacity he has always single-mindedly pursued one overriding purpose: to foil the American sponsored Arab-Israel "peace process" and, in particular, the ingenuous endeavours of PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, in his "moderate" guise to insinuate himself into it.

There is at the moment precious little sign, given Israeli intransigence, American bias and Arab disarray, that any "peace process" is going any place. But with American envoy Richard Murphy diligently doing the rounds of Israel and Arab capitals, there is quite a lot of diplomatic motion; the Israelis are even putting it about that he wants to persuade King Hussein to strive for a joint declaration to be made by President Mubarak and Prime Minister Peres at their hoped-for, but still far from certain, summit.

Hussein has made it clear that he will do no such thing. Nevertheless, Arafat, anxious for Mubarak's good offices with both Hussein and the Americans, has apparently just crossed another threshold along the road of "moderation". He has announced that he would accept Security Council resolution 242 in the framework of a global settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Clear endorsement of 242 has always been one of American's key conditions for talking to the PLO.

Egypt has unofficially welcomed Arafat's diplomatic advance. Jordan is silent, hardly surprisingly, because, simultaneously, Arafat is engaged in a characteristically and complicated maneouvre designed to persuade another important constituency, the hard-line, Damascus-based guerrilla organisations, that, for the sake of Palestinian national unity, he has finally repudiated the February 11, 1985, Amman Agreement under which Jordan and the PLO were to go forward as true partners in the peace making — and, in the King's scheme of things, at least, in the recognition of 242.

The repudiation is less than convincing, however, in that it comes in the form of a rather low-level statement, from Beirut, to which he himself has not leant his personal authority.

Even if all these serpentine contrivances of an increasingly isolated and discredited PLO leadership advance the peace process not an inch, it is the underlying purpose of Karachi and Istanbul to make wholly sure that they do not. They reinforce the Israelis, or at least their own, highly influential hawks and hardliners, in the portrayal of the whole PLO as just a "gang of murderers". They are helped in this by the Karachi highjackers' demand for the release of three known Arafatists in Cyprus gaols. The PLO's denunciation of those atrocities impresses the Israelis less than anybody else, and all the more so that, given the chaos into which the whole Palestinian resistance movement has fallen, Karachi at least, if not Istanbul, could after all have been linked in some way to the mainstream leadership — just as, so unexpectedly, the liner Achille Lauro was last year.

Tutu enthroned as Archbishop

By David Beresford in Cape Town

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu was enthroned as leader of some two million African Anglicans on Sunday. He marked the occasion with joyous scenes. He concluded with a hard-hitting sermon attacking white racism.

Charging that in South Africa "some are more equal than others in life and death" — citing as an example the lack of "fuss" over the recent police massacre in Soweto — the Nobel Peace Prize winner offered prayers for "my brother," P. W. Botha, and repeated a call for the State President to start negotiations with "the authentic representatives" of the people.

St George's Cathedral, a few yards from South Africa's racially exclusive Parliament, was packed with Church dignitaries and lay people of all races from around the world, ranging from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, to the so-called "mother" of black South Africa, Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The normally staid environs of Cape Town's high Church, French-gothic cathedral throbbed to African gospel singing — the little archbishop bouncing on his feet to the rhythm of the music in an unabashed show of happiness.

Later, at an open air service, a congregation of over 10,000 led by a steel band celebrated the elevation of the son of a Sophiatown teacher to one of the highest clerical offices in the land.

Nine right wing white Christians staged protests outside the cathedral, attempting to plant flowers in the churchyard "to mark the death of the Anglican Church."

Archbishop Tutu's attack on racism came at the end of a lengthy sermon in which he defended the outlawed African National Congress and Pan African Congress and indicated his continued support for sanctions against South Africa — the major issue which has earned him the bitter hostility of a large proportion of the white community.

"Please spare us your new found altruism," he said, addressing himself to the State President. "It can never be the perpetrators of apartheid who can say apartheid is changing. The world will believe that this is so when we, the victims of this vicious evil, declare that it is indeed changing. If white people are so impressed with all the changes would they swap places with blacks even for one day?"

Recalling that there used to be signs in South Africa that read "Natives and dogs not allowed," he said that, sadly, he believed the fundamental attitude that "blacks are human, but . . ." had not changed.

Citing recent instances in which black Church leaders had been abused by the authorities — including the alleged torture of a member of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the strip-searching of an Anglican bishop now in detention — he asked rhetorically whether such incidents would have taken place had they been white.

He said he abhorred all violence. But, he added, "It is absolutely important for South African whites to know that that the ANC and the PAC were non-violent for most of their history, so much so that they had their own passive resistance campaign and one of the presidents-general of the ANC was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize as a tribute to that commitment to non-violence."

The last victims of the latest Soweto police massacre were finally buried, peacefully, last week. The work boycott by Sowetans — described as the biggest since the 1976 massacres — was lifted and nine of the 24 dead were buried under the security forces' close supervision.

The families were allowed to bring the coffins into the cemetery two and three at a time. Priests in attendance explained that it had been decided to hurry through the funerals because of the [illegible] under which the bereaved families [illegible] living.

It is not clear who [illegible] buried earlier [illegible] them. At least [illegible] that 15 were secretly buried without [illegible] although it was still [illegible] ledge, and in the absence of relatives, but with security [illegible] been buried in attendance.

Hella Pick adds: The EEC is at last braced to impose an important package of sanctions against South Africa, even though West Germany's Chancellor, Dr Helmut Kohl, still has to contend with the reservations of his coalition member, Mr Franz Joseph Strauss. This seems certain after informal weekend discussions between EEC foreign ministers at Brockley Park in Hertfordshire.

The formal decision on sanctions is not due to be taken until the EEC Council of Ministers meets in Brussels on September 15 and 16.

But the Foreign Secretary's view that Britain cannot afford to prevaricate on the Hague package appears to have prevailed. Having been sent to South Africa on a mission which he knew to be foolhardy, Sir Geoffrey Howe now argues that the Western industrialised countries have no alternative except to play the sanctions card.

Sir Geoffrey is expected to hold his first meeting with the leader of South Africa's outlawed ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, before the end of September. The meeting, which will represent a public gesture of confidence in Mr Tambo, is likely to take place in London before the Foreign Secretary flies to New York on September 21 to participate in the UN General Assembly.

Decisions by non-aligned

By Victoria Brittain in Harare

THE nonaligned summit finished here on Sunday with an appeal to the superpowers for a moratorium on all testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons.

The world has "never been so close to self-destruction", the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, the movement's new chairman, said as he wound up the meeting just before dawn. He called the summit "a tremendous success" in its focus on disarmament and South Africa.

In its final hours, the summit, which concentrated on southern Africa's confrontation with Pretoria, decided to send an eight-man group to the US, West Germany, Britain and Japan to press for their support for UN mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

The group will be from Algeria, Argentina, Congo, India, Nigeria, Peru, Yugoslavia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe and is to be the focus of lobbying ahead of the United Nations General Assembly.

The nonaligned countries went some way towards committing themselves to imposing whatever economic sanctions they can against Pretoria, but recognised that economic sanctions from industrialised countries are the key to real pressure on the South African Government.

Jewish settlers ready for new expansion

By Ian Black in Jerusalem

MILITANT Israeli settlers in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip are preparing for a period of renewed activity when the Likud leader, Mr Yitzhak Shamir, takes over the premiership from the Labour Party's Mr Shimon Peres next month.

The Jewish settlers, who 00 number some 52,000 in a g that different outposts, are e for the with the Likud in life of the second half Government, they National ble to campaign will y to increase their num- and create obstacles to future rritorial concessions to Jordan.

Although the guidelines setting up the bipartisan administration in September 1984 are specific on the question of settlements, the militants are planning to bring pressure to bear on a Prime Minister for whom a Jewish presence in "Judea and Samaria" is a basic article of political faith.

The 1984 coalition agreement provided for the establishment of six new settlements during the Government's four-year term — a figure fixed more by budgetary constraints than ideology. Four of those have already been set up, and any additional ones would require fresh Cabinet approval.

Labour politicians have made it clear that they will oppose any attempt to increase the number of settlements, and although Mr Shamir is insisting publicly on his commitment to the agreed guidelines, there have been persistent reports that he is quietly working on ways to accelerate the process.

One clear warning sign is that the Likud leader is said to be planning to appoint Mr Otniel Schneller, the chairman of the settlers' council, as a special adviser on the issue. Mr Schneller said this week that the council wants to meet soon to discuss what he called "Jordan's growing involvement" in the West Bank.

Jordan's new role also indicates near-trouble ahead. Since between breakdown of relat Mr Peres has Jordan and the PLO attempts by been encou to regain some of his King Hu al and economic influ- lost of the West Bank.

Although this encouragement seems designed more to help weaken the PLO than to induce the King into separate peace negotiations, the settlers are worried that greater Jordanian influence will turn out to be a prelude to the return of parts of the West Bank to King Hussein.

The settlers' magazine, Nekuda, warned last week that although the expansion of Jordanian influence was at the expense of the PLO, "the danger from Jordan to the future of settlement in Judea, Samaria and Gaza is no less than that posed by the PLO."

With issues like this already looming large in the background, the question of political control over settlements seems likely to become a serious point of conflict between Labour and Likud soon after the rotation agreement is implemented next month.

Labour's Mr Yitzhak Rabin is scheduled to retain the key post of Defence Minister under Mr Shamir's premiership, and is certain to demand that he has overall responsibility for settlements. During the first half of the National Unity Government, disagreements between the two parties prevented the establishment of a ministerial committee to oversee the issue.

Labour has traditionally supported the creation of strategically placed settlements along the 1967 ceasefire line in the Jordan Valley, while the Likud believes in the right of Jews to live throughout the West Bank, even urban Palestinian areas like Hebron and Nablus. The two sides agreed to bury their differences on this issue, as on other controversial issues, to set up the National Unity Government two years ago.

Hang-up over phone boxes

By Michael White in Washington

TWO veteran British telephone boxes were being held by the US Customs service in Los Angeles last week on suspicion of being quota-busting fabricated steel rather than a much-loved combination of cast iron, wood, glass and red paint, now sadly relegated to the status of antiques.

As antiques the phone boxes are as much fair game for export as Chippendale chairs and Welsh kitchen dressers. An enterprising organisation called the London Telephone Box Company bought all 30,000 relics of the classic 1920's design currently being replaced by British Telecom's dynamic management.

Over the next seven years it plans to sell them for as much as £2,000 each to holders of marks, francs, yen, or — in most cases — dollars. London Bridge is already on display in Arizona, but with land prices so much higher in California the locals are willing to settle for a smaller bit of Old England.

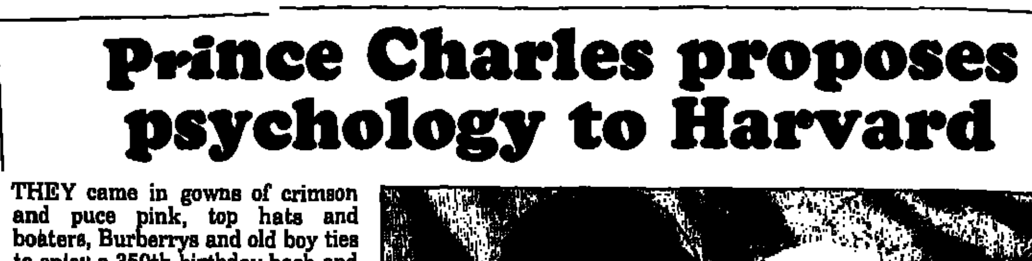
Unfortunately, the boxes have now become enmeshed in the ever-bubbling trade war between the US and the European Economic Community. When the latest pair arrived at Los Angeles officials insisted that they were part of the European steel quota, renewed on January 1 to protect America's ailing steel industry from the consequences of the free enterprise it is constantly preaching to others.

According to the British Embassy's steel specialist in Washington, Mr Derek Plumbly, the Fabricated Steel Quota is one category within the EEC-US agreement designed to prevent wily Europeans evading the raw steel limits by turning the stuff into value-added products like oil rigs.

Since the telephone boxes are not actually made of steel, a Los Angeles Customs official was quoted as saying it was "just a paperwork foul-up" which would be rectified once the London shipper filed the necessary papers. Meanwhile, the embassy's Mr Plumbly is refusing to certify that it is part of the fabricated steel quota — since it plainly isn't and there is only about nine tons of quota unused this year.

"It just illustrates the silliness of protectionism generally. In order to make it watertight you have to extend it way beyond what it's supposed to be concerned with," said Mr Plumbly. "This is too silly not to be sorted out, but it may take a couple of days."

Nato's two trade blocs have narrowly avoided a major trade war this year over EEC citrus products and a US threat to retaliate against Italian pasta, superior to their own. British Telecom, however, is showing an open-minded commitment to free trade. Its replacement phone boxes are plastic and of American design.



Prince Charles proposes psychology to Harvard

THEY came in gowns of crimson and puce pink, top hats and boaters, Burberrys and old boy ties to enjoy a 350th birthday bash and see and hear a Prince who believes that "the natural science of psychology" may hold the answers to education's woes.

But first they were obliged to sit in the historical flag-festooned damp of Harvard Yard listening to long-winded historic tales of Puritans and revolutionaries, the Charles River and the importance of Greek and Hebrew in intellectual development.

The strain of waiting and crowd impatience was felt by the Prince too, resplendent in his century-old black and gold embroided gown of the Chancellor of the University of Wales. "The suspense of this mammoth occasion has been killing me," the Prince remarked.

"You have devised an exquisite torture for the uninitiated," he said, noting that it had required all his "character-building education" to prepare him for Harvard's 350th celebratory convocation. Prince Charles's candour produced the second biggest guffaw of the day: the president of Yale out-humoured the Prince with a disparaging reference to the gauche commemorative chocolates on sale outside the learned gates.

Harvard Yard, an architectural monument to the 3½ centuries of the university's history, rang to the sound of choral music as the old boys and invited guests arrived, including Senator Edward Kennedy, and the Speaker of the House, Mr Tip O'Neill, who also happens to be Harvard's congressman. Missing was President Reagan, piqued because there was no offer of an honorary degree in the manner of President Roosevelt on the 300th birthday in 1936.

With the fragrance of newly mown grass rising from the damp ground, elegant Wall Street bankers and patrician Bostonians, senators and cabinet members were simply alumni. The ancient educators doddering along in their flowing robes were the masters once again.

"The essence of this place," one lady professor said, "is that it is white, male and Protestant . . . and after we have all been here for a while, we all become white, male and Protestant." She was more or less right.

Despite efforts from the faculty to paint Harvard as a colour-blind place which tolerates little racial prejudice, black faces among the Harvard men (there's no such thing as a Harvard woman) are rare.

The Prince, as is traditional on these occasions, made his pitch for the Anglo-American alliance and the special relationship. But this time his words were laced with a special urgency, reflecting, perhaps, the anti-Americanism which has swept Britain in the Reagan era.

He noted that, in the same way as colonial Britain had caused horrors to the United States in the days of its founding fathers, "The United States, with all its power and influence and commercial might, can sometimes evoke anxious reactions across the Atlantic."

All that was lacking, as he uttered these words, to a crowd lost in their own reminiscences of great days of youth, were the F-111 jets streaking across the sky on their way to Libya.

Exploiting his position as keynote speaker to the full, the Prince decided to let America's academic elite, gathered around him on the podium in adoring poses, into some of his own educational philosophy. The Prince, who a day earlier had been playing with the new technologies at the Wang labs, wondered aloud whether parents should "let our children slip away into a world dominated entirely by sophisticated technology".



Prince Charles with Francis Burr, chief marshal of the Harvard celebrations.

"How do we teach people to recognise that there is a dark side of man's psyche and that his destructive power is immense if we are aware of it?" Prince Charles asked. He then ventured to suggest, that instead of religion, to which Harvard owed its birth as a home for Puritan dissidents, the need in universities now might be an "introduction to the natural science of psychology".

The Prince continuing his theme, said: "The potential destruction of the great rain forests, the exploration of space, greater power than we have ever had or our nature can handle — all confront us for what could be the final settlement."

In honour of the Prince, and the group of fellows from Emmanual College who became Harvard's first overseers in 1636, the ceremonies had a distinctly British flavour. The weather was grey, with the sun struggling to appear, Elgar's Pomp and Circumstance

By Alex Brummer in Cambridge, Mass.

Number Four was tinnily belted out by the university band, and the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, Lord Adrian, felt it necessary to display a condescending academic wit.

Harvard has come a long way since John Harvard, the Cambridge-educated son of a London butcher, bequeathed his estate of £770 and 400 books in 1636 to be used "towards a school or college". Some 350 years later, Harvard — originally designated a College of Divines by the witch-obsessed Rev Cotton Mather — has come to represent Mammon. Last week's glitzy celebrations are part of the ritual by which Harvard has relied on its successful alumni to build an exchequer befitting a Wall Street house or small nation state.

Sharing the podium with the Prince of Wales and intellectuals such as the historian Arthur Schlesinger were a pair of "Harvard boys" — the slightly derogatory description used by all but insiders — who have made it as big as you can in the American financial world: The Federal Reserve Board chairman, Mr Paul Volcker, and the White House chief-of-staff, Mr Donald Regan, the creator of the investment bankers, Merrill Lynch. It is not in the least bit surprising that in this day and age Harvard's fame rests, not with the brilliance of its students in the undergraduate Faculty of Arts and Sciences, but with its job and income orientated graduate schools, which all but guarantee high-paying jobs in law, finance, and corporate America.

After all, Harvard MBAs are worth an immediate $80,000 a year in the corporate rat race.

The man who has headed the edifice for the past 15 years is Dr Derek Bok, aged 55, who was the broom brought in to clear up the debris after the turbulent 1960s. In 1969, angry Harvard students, taking a lesson from activists at Berkeley, seized University Hall, Harvard's administrative nerve-centre, smashed the offices, and spilled confidential files over the floor.

Some 200 state troopers forcibly removed the rebellious youths, brutally sending 184 bleeding students to hospital. "It's hard to believe," one dean remarked at the time, "that something put together over a third of a millenium by Harvard men can be destroyed in a few days in April."

Dr Bok, the dean of Harvard Law School, re-established control after his predecessor, Nathan Pusey, was all but evicted from office. Dr Bok's success is more often than not measured in financial terms. It is noted that, under his management, the university's budget tripled to $650 million from $206 million, and its endowment rose to $8.5 billion, making it among the largest institutional investors in the nation.

To handle this vast resource, Dr Bok created the Harvard Management Corporation, a sort of insiders' merchant bank. Despite its designation as a "non-profit" corporation, it would be difficult to distinguish the trading room at HMC from that at Merrill Lynch.

Despite its vast resources, Harvard remains an exclusive club in which Boston Brahmins and New England preppies, who earn a place by birth, rub shoulders with the sons of America's rich who can afford to pay the $16,135 tuition per year, reduced to a mere $9,000 or so with a scholarship.

Despite its slippage on the academic scales, behind half-a-dozen other universities from Stanford to Princeton, the best and the brightest still knock on Harvard's door. In a typical year all newcomers will be ranked in the top 3 per cent in their classes.

The offspring of the rich and famous do not have the same academic requirements. Michael Mailer, son of Norman, Caroline Kennedy, daughter of JFK, and other "lagacies" as they are known, more often than not slide in under the intellectual rope.

When it was the first American university among equals, any scholar would jump at Harvard prestige. Professor Seymour Martin Lipset, of Stanford, now observes: "The Harvard assumption that anyone to whom it makes an offer will accept has clearly not been true for some time."

Hamish McRae

Now is the time to invest in Australia

FOR anyone who believes that the best approach to investment is to go directly counter to current conventional wisdom, a new candidate has emerged.

It is Australia. Followers of events there will recall that the country has just faced an austerity budget of the sort we used to have here periodically in the 1970s; that everyone is saying, as they usually do, that the tough fiscal cutbacks and interest rate hikes are not enough; and that economic forecasts for the country are pretty universally gloomy.

And that, on the counter-cyclical theory, ought to be just the time to invest.

It so happens that in recent days there have been several signs that the more canny members of our financial community are thinking on just these lines. One came from Sir Jeffrey Sterling of P and O, which has had a pretty miserable time with its Australian operations in the last year. They are small in relation to the group as a whole, but in the last six months profits have been virtually halved to £2.6 millions, from £4.3 millions for the same period the year before.

Was Sir Jeffrey thinking of cutting back his Australian activities? Not at all. Sir Jeffrey believes that a process of change is taking place in Australian economic and political attitudes which will make it a much more attractive place in which to run a business. So they are very much staying there.

Take another example: chief among the handful of professional fund management groups which specifically tries to take a long view on investment is Templeton Investment Management. Templeton is an American group which pioneered international investment in the States. (Its

FINANCIAL NOTEBOOK

founder, Mr John Templeton has helped finance Templeton College in Oxford.) The group just started to attract some notice in this country since it opened an office here at the beginning of this year.

Unlike other groups which seem to shift their holdings around every week or so Templeton hardly ever buys or sells securities unless it feels there is an exceptionally strong reason for doing so. The principal criterion for buying is a search for fundamental value.

And where is it now buying securities? In Australia, where, it believes on, say, a six-year view, prospects are rosy.

Take a third example. One of our most canny international property companies is Hammerson. Where does it believe there are good investment opportunities? Yes, Australia.

Doubtless other investors around the world will feel the same. Securities there certainly offer far better value for money than the sky-high prices of Japanese shares, the low interest rates available on German bonds, or the uncertain attractions of US securities at a time when senior administration figures are shouting that the dollar has further to fall.

Further, if anyone wants a cross-check on the wisdom of investing in Australia at this time, they should look at what the Japanese portfolio managers, the most dedicated followers of fashion in the investment business are doing . . . and do the opposite. A couple of years back they were piling into Australian bonds attracted by the seemingly high interest rates available.

The Australian dollar collapsed, and interest rates climbed still higher, thereby reducing the value of the bonds, too. After this bad experience the Japanese have stopped investing there. That must say something, even if others are heading in the opposite direction.

Amnesty condemns Chilean death squads

By Jonathan Steele

CHILE'S military dictator, General Augusto Pinochet, has reverted to using clandestine teams to kidnap, torture, and kill opponents, according to a fully documented report by Amnesty International, published last week.

Falling back on terror tactics common in the years after the 1973 US-supported coup, General Pinochet has also authorised the use of mass arrests in an effort to crush dissent.

The Amnesty report says that undercover forces "have been responsible for serious violations of human rights, including disappearances, extrajudicial executions, the systematic use of torture, and the intimidation of large sectors of the population through threats, harassment, abductions, and physical assault".

"The threat of arrest, abduction, torture, and even death is ever present for thousands of Chileans, from church workers, human rights activists, and the urban poor to members of opposition organisations," Amnesty says.

The clandestine teams, it says, carry out their intimidation with impunity and have stepped up their terror since the wave of public protests revived in 1983. "They are highly organised and have considerable financial backing. They operate without restraint and during curfew hours."

In one of its most damning comments, Amnesty says that despite widespread human rights violations, the judiciary has largely been unable or unwilling to investigate abuses and bring those responsible to justice. "Up to mid-1986 not one member of the police or security forces had been convicted of the torture or death of a political prisoner," Amnesty says.

Malcolm Coad adds: The Government has rejected the report which it says is "inconsistent with the objectivity which Amnesty International claims." A Foreign Ministry statement denied there were political prisoners in Chile, and said that Amnesty had ignored the killing of 43 members of the security forces by terrorists since 1983, more than 1,700 bombings and incendiary attacks since January, 1985, and the death of 216 citizens in "acts of extremist violence since 1984." The prisoners referred to in the report are all held on terrorist-related charges and have been duly tried, said the ministry.

Russians' growing love affair with the automobile

LIKE MOST Moscow drivers, I have learned to avoid the Krimsky bridge over the river near the Kremlin on Thursday morning when the Politburo meets. The traffic is held up for miles around as the long black Zil limousines snake out of the narrow road past the general staff HQ, past the Lenin library, and across to the special entrance into the Kremlin.

You get accustomed to this constant presence of motorised privilege. Along the middle of all the main roads runs a special lane, known as the Zil lane because this is reserved for official cars and their motorcades, screaming along the streets at astonishing speeds with blue lights flashing, traffic cops saluting, and all the traffic lights being carefully turned to green.

One of the fastest drives I ever enjoyed in my life came when I went to the airport to meet Neil Kinnock and an official Labour Party delegation which had come for talks with the former leader, Konstantin Chernenko. They were met by a Poltiburo host in the VIP lounge, and whisked into a Zil motorcade for what is normally a 30-minute drive into the city. I tucked in behind the motorcade and the trip took 11 minutes.

It was one of the few pleasures of Moscow driving, a generally depressing experince made alarming by the weather. In winter, driving on ice is bad enough, but come the spring thaw and you learn that Moscow is the city of potholes, as the ice chews up the road surfaces into great chasms that wreck your suspension and leave the tramlines rising proudly above the wrecked asphalt like little tank-traps.

But like anywhere else in the world, the real menace on the roads comes from other traffic, and the surprise of Moscow is that there is so much of it. In a city with one of the world's finest metro systems, and reasonable, although much criticised buses, trolley buses, and trams, the age of the private car has come to the Soviet capital.

It is worse in summer because the "podsnegniki," or snowdrops, those drivers who put their cars away in garages or under tarpaulins for the long winter, venture out like so many spring flowers when the snow clears. Seasoned Moscow drivers complain about the podsnegniki and their amateurish habits much as people in

By Martin Walker in Moscow

Britain complain of Sunday drivers.

They have not yet got around to installing parking meters in Moscow, but the day cannot be far away. For the past ten years, the car factories have been turning out over 1,300,000 autombilies a year, most of them the Zhiguli, based on an obsolescent Fiat design and produced on the Italian-designed assembly lines at the vast Togliatti plant on the Volga.

On the whole, the Zhigulis are the private cars. The official cars have a very clear pecking order. There is the Volga, a big saloon that runs off 73-octane petrol that makes up the taxi fleet and the transport for junior officials. Then comes the Chaika, which looks like a Cadillac and is used for official delegations of not quite top rank. The old ones, with the 1950 curves and deep pile carpets, and flower vases are marvellous artefacts, and when you see a cluster of them together you are suddenly transported into a hollywood movie. Finally come the Zils, sharklike and arrogant.

For obvious reason, most of the official cars are based in Moscow, but the capital also has a disproportionate share of the private cars. And so do the more affluent republics, like the Baltic states and Georgia.

And with the private cars, and the pride of ownership they inspire, comes a slow but inexorable social revolution. Apart from that minority buying a co-op apartment or a dacha, a car is by far the biggest expenditure a Soviet citizen can expect to make. And keeping the thing running is likely to be his biggest headache. Spare parts are one of the choicest items on the black market, and the private car has probably been the biggest single factor in the surging growth of corruption and the black economy.

The deputy procurator general has just issued a hair-curling statement on the vast industry in black market petrol. In some Moscow service stations, he fumed, the attendants were making so much on the side they did not bother to collect their wages for six months. Even in the last year of strict Gorbachev-style discipline, theft of petrol had gone up by 25 per cent. The chairman of the state committee for the fuel industry had been arrested after taking bribes . . . the list of complaints went on and on.

And as I sit in the increasingly common Moscow traffic jams, even when the Politburo is not blocking the roads, I see no end to the social change. The Government can try to clamp down on the use of private and off-duty official cars as gypsy cabs, and can try to stop the siphoning of state petrol, but once a society has begun its love affair with the automobile, even Opec has yet to find a way to stop it. You might as well try to park in the Zil lane.

Digging a grave for apartheid

THE unstable equilibrium in South Africa between the power of the state and the anger of the blacks is graphically illustrated by last week's events in Soweto. The authorities eventually (and conservatively) admitted that 31 people had been killed in clashes between police and residents over evictions, 20 by police action. When a mass funeral for 24 of the "21" dead was planned, the police banned it. When an attempt was made to hold a combined ceremony at a stadium, the ensuing clash led to eight more deaths at police hands — leading to instant demands for a second mass funeral to commemorate those killed at the first. But there was a gruesome new twist to the latest confrontation, when the police became body-snatchers and amateur undertakers. In their efforts to break up the combined funeral they hijacked some of the coffins and buried them in slapdash fashion without telling the bereaved in advance. Macabre and agonised scenes ensued as relatives searched graveyards for their dead.

As these barbarous events took place far from the eyes of the muzzled media (we heard from brave witnesses), the last redoubt of western civilisation in South Africa, the judges' bench, handed down another ruling against the state of emergency. The verdict came, like several earlier ones, from the Natal division of the Supreme Court. One of the regulations it ruled illegal was precisely that under which the Soweto police chief banned the mass funeral. Theoretically the ruling applies only to Natal, but it would take a contrary judgment from the Transvaal division of the Court (or the national Court of Appeal) to make such a ban legal in Soweto. This leaves the Government looking as inept as it did when the judges invalidated the emergency censorship last month, a loophole which was only resealed on the eve of last week's funeral chaos. The Natal court, an unexpectedly robust advertisement for the independence of the judiciary in what has otherwise become a blatant racialist dictatorship, also ruled last week that the Government could not shut down newspapers for carrying material it deems subversive. This is a crucial judgment for the media even though the court did not repeat its earlier ruling against the renewed restrictions on their coverage.

The state of emergency was imposed to restore order after two years of township rebellion against apartheid. Censorship is not peripheral but central to the exercise, because it is intended to draw a veil over the methods used by police and troops, which it is obviously failing to do, thanks largely to the courts. But for them we would not have heard of the sickening torture of Father Mkhatshwa, the general secretary of the Catholic Bishops' Conference. If they are prepared to do it to such a senior black cleric we can be certain, even without the accumulated evidence of other cases, that they are doing it to many other less prominent Africans, and that they have nothing to learn from the SS. The unbridled brutality of the security forces strikes at the legitimacy of the state which employs them (and gives them immunity by decree), whatever the judges may do in their manifestly losing battle to defend civilised standards. There is not only no justification but also no tactical need for the police to use firearms as a first resort, or to torture detainees, or to desecrate funerals. By doing all this and more with such sadistic devotion to duty they are digging a grave for the regime they seek to preserve. Meanwhile there is some small comfort in the fact that a few South Africans, white as well as black, outside as well as inside the courts, are brave enough to challenge and expose them.

Gold shines again

GOLD has been one of the world's worst investments in recent years. It reached a peak of $677.5 an ounce during February, 1980; but by the end of last year it had more than halved in price. With inflation falling and high real interest rates (after allowing for inflation) readily available all over the world no one was much interested in a metal which did not even offer a dividend. But then gold has often been an elusive investment. French people who went into gold in 1939 had to wait over 30 years to show a return. All that is now changing. The price of gold jumped in London last week to $420.50 an ounce, its highest level for several years, which can't be bad news for South Africa which relies on gold for half of its foreign exchange earnings. To the extent that gold is traditionally bought as a hedge against inflation this may seem somewhat perverse; especially at a time when Japan, West Germany and Switzerland are already sporting negative annual inflation rates, with other countries set to follow suit. The markets, it seems, are worried that inflation in key economies like the United States (currently 1.6 per cent a year) has "bottomed out" and, nudged by firmer oil prices, may start moving upwards again.

It is not as simple as that. The price of gold is determined by a complex of factors. Demand has been boosted by strong buying from Japanese investors (worried by the falling dollar) and by the Japanese government, which is striking 10 million gold coins to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the accession of Emperor Hirohito. In the rest of the world, buying has been triggered by lower interest rates, fears of currency instability, uncertain stock markets, the runaway rise in platinum prices, the dubious state of the US economy and the arrival of long-term investors convinced that gold is in for a sustained rise.

Above all there are worries about upheaval in South Africa, which produces over half of the world's supplies of gold and 80 per cent of its platinum. The fear is not so much — as some reports suggest — that the South African government might *curtail gold* supplies (which would be cutting off its nose to spite its face), but that industrial unrest might lead to closure of the mines. These forebodings outweigh the prospect of world supplies being increased later this year as Russia (the second largest producer) is compelled to sell more to gain foreign exchange to offset a sharp decline in oil revenues and to buy food in the wake of the Chernobyl disaster.

Whatever else, the sharp rise in the price of gold and platinum has proved to be manna from heaven for South Africa's beleaguered economy. Ministers in Britain have used the argument that the market mechanism — by denying new credit to South Africa — has already done more to apply sanctions than the combined efforts of all other governments. There is some truth in this argument. But it is also true that the same market mechanism has been feeding South Africa with vital foreign exchange income by buying gold and precious metals. That is the cruellest irony of all.

The bloody night of the general

GENERAL PINOCHET, a man with few friends or admirers outside the ranks of the far right, often likes to portray himself as an autocratic statesman in the tradition of Chile's nineteenth century leaders. He himself, therefore, may not have been unduly surprised that his enemies should have tried to prepare for him the fate so often meted out to Europe's nineteenth century autocrats, the kings of Spain and Portugal, the emperors of Austria and Russia. But to the outside world, the assassination attempt on the austere Chilean dictator — so dramatically cinematic in its execution — will come as something of a jolt. For during thirteen years of increasingly unpopular rule, Pinochet has acquired an almost legendary capacity to survive. Time and again his imminent downfall has been predicted, as his country flounders on, internationally isolated and beset with ever graver economic difficulties. Yet, after each round of apparent crisis, Pinochet has come bouncing back, seeking popular endorsement for ever more preposterously long periods of power ahead — 1997 at the last count. So infectious has been his vitality, so compelling his sense of mission, that even opposition politicians have doubted openly whether the general could be dispensed with much before 1989, at the earliest. A common belief has been that Pinochet, like General Franco, would die in his bed.

All this has now changed. General Pinochet, though virtually unscathed, has been shown to be mortal. His regime, too, may now be seen to be frail and vulnerable. In the short run there will be a fierce return to the politics of repression, but with the international press corps in force in Santiago for the anniversary of the coup against Salvador Allende on September 11, 1973, the revival of the detention camps and the torture houses will not go unnoticed. In the longer run, the failed attentat will have served to destabilise the regime, much as the assassination of Admiral Carrero Blanco in Spain helped to accelerate the demise of Francoism.

For Pinochet's Chile, after 14 years, is still very much a one-man band. No provision has been made for the continuation of the regime without him; there is no nominated successor. His control over the armed forces and the police has been absolute, based on a degree of personal loyalty unusual even in Latin America. The power of divisional commanders or regional military barons has been ruthlessly curbed. But Pinochet's almost familial ascendancy over his military chiefs was based on his perceived invulnerability. And it is this intangible element in his power base that has now been eroded. For every general, every senior officer, will today be asking themselves the same question: what will happen to me when Pinochet goes? And some of them, discreetly, will begin making overtures to the civilian opposition politicians. Against all the odds, the acceleration of the political calendar is now in prospect.



General Pinochet

One other thing has changed as a result of the attempted assassination. For many years it has been impossible to take seriously the notion of guerrilla warfare or urban terrorism in Chile. History provides little encouragement (the current revolutionary group has to delve back far to find the name of Manuel Rodriguez), and geography is even more hostile. Successive generations of politicians on the left, particularly in the large and influential Communist Party, have poured scorn on the notion of the armed struggle. Opposition politicians have deplored the emergence of marginal armed groups that have made the creation of a broad anti-Pinochet front across the political spectrum so much more difficult. Now, perhaps the armed revolutionaries may have to be taken rather more seriously. The Communist Party has in fact changed its tune some years ago, tacitly supporting the Manuel Rodriguez Front and publicly advocating a dual strategy of political mobilisation and armed struggle. It is a difficult and dangerous strategy, for while it meets the desire of the rebellious elements in the shanty-towns for action, it serves to frighten the more conservative elements in the potential anti-Pinochet coalition. It has aroused a contentious debate in the last few years, a controversy that will be sharpened by the bloody events of Sunday night.

It remains to be seen whether the move towards a civilian regime will be accelerated or postponed as a result of Pinochet's near escape. For the moment, Pinochet may ruefully ponder that when he seized power in 1973, at the height of the confusion and dislocation of Allende's final months, he announced his intention of extirpating the Communist "cancer" from Chilean public life and of returning the country to the values of an earlier era. Today the Communists, with their armed groups, are the largest single organisation in the country, and a generation that was hardly born in the Allende period has rejected the Pinochet straitjacket and exploded into opposition.

The intelligence of pigeons

IT was a good week for gorillas. Not since the sparing of Androcles has any species in the animal kingdom had its image so sharply upgraded as the gorilla did when an 18-stone beast called Jambo stood solicitous guard over a five-year-old boy who came hurtling into his pit. The television pictures — fortuitously caught by an amateur cameraman called Le Lion — must have moved a million hearts, while causing hurried upward revision of profit forecasts at Jersey Zoo.

But it has not been so good a week for dolphins or chimpanzees. According to Dr Euan McPhail, of York University, the intellectual power of the dolphin may be matched, and that of the chimpanzee actually surpassed, by the humble and tiresome pigeon. In the first of two experiments, he reported, an exercise in banana retrieval was successfully completed by every pigeon present, but by only one of the chimps: the rest ran round their cages, uncertain of what to do. In a second test, pigeons ended on level terms with dolphins in contests to see which was best at distinguishing red and green lights and getting food by pushing paddles.

This is chastening news for dolphins, and even worse for the owners of dolphinaria, who for decades now have been pulling in coachloads to see the creatures whose intelligence is allegedly second only to Man's. From now on, it seems, the punters can get that experience free, from a seat in Trafalgar Square. Yet objective observers should pause before putting the pigeon on this plinth. It remains to be proved that skill in retrieving bananas is enough in itself to serve as the proof of intelligence. It does not, for example, appear to form part of the tests you must pass for a Fellowship of All Souls. If the chimps ran round their cages rather than take their test, that may simply have been because they found the whole process demeaning. It is true that the psychologist B. F. Skinner once taught two pigeons to play a form of table tennis. But an American expert called Terrace has trained a chimp which he called Nim Chimpsky to communicate with him in a sign language which can recognise such varied concepts as cookie, harmonica, toothbrush, yoghurt and work. Can Dr McPhail produce a pigeon which is capable of that?

But there is a second compelling reason why the joint pre-eminence of pigeons is unlikely to be conceded without a struggle. They don't look at all like us. You can see a human resemblance in many chimpanzees. You can catch a hint of it, too, in the dolphin, if you look through half-closed eyes. But few, when they look at a pigeon, can put their hands on their hearts and say it's just like the fellow next door. And there are other practical questions. How come, if pigeons are so intelligent, that the dodo, a form of pigeon, contrived to become extinct? The dodo, according to one textbook, fell easy prey to marauding sailors, and failed to compete with livestock, especially pigs. Not much intelligence there. Still, your ordinary urban pigeon is smarter than that. Indeed, it is this very smartness which Dr McPhail, with his lights and bananas, may have actually managed to measure. Intelligent? That's not proven. But street-wise? Not a doubt.

Le Monde ENGLISH SECTION

Paris narrowly escaped what would certainly have been a carnage on Thursday, September 4, when a bomb placed in a packed rush-hour evening underground train failed to go off. Smoke from the detonator fuse alerted passengers on the east-bound RER train as it was leaving the Châtelet-les-Halles station and they promptly pulled the communication cord bringing the train to a halt. Was it faulty wiring, or a fuse deliberately rigged to burn out without causing further reaction that prevented the dozen sticks of high explosive to which it was connected from going off?

Several indications on the explosive device, like the fact that it was wrapped in a paper bag bearing the name of a bookshop which was bombed recently, would seem to buttress the assumption it was meant to be a ghoulish warning. Responsibility for the failed attack was claimed in a written note sent to the Lebanese daily An Nahar by the CSPPA (Comité de Solidarité avec les Prisonniers Politiques Arabes et du Proche Orient). The note stated: "We hold the French government responsible for our action, for it is allowing itself to be influenced by pressure from the imperialist American government." The note then went on to demand that France free George Abdallah Ibrahim (alias Abdel Kader Essaadi, believed to be the leader of the FARL — Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Fractions); Anis Naccache (the leader of the hit squad which in 1980 tried to assassinate former Iranian premier Shapur Bakhtiar in Paris); and Varoujan Garabidjian, the head of the ASALA (Secret Armenian Army for Liberating Armenia) who was involved in the July 1983 bomb attack at Orly airport.

Attempted Metro bombing puts pressure on Chirac

By Patrick Jarreau

THE FAILED RER bomb attack has put more pressure on the government to force it to release a terrorist leader, George Abdallah Ibrahim, who was tried and convicted in Lyons. The government can now expect an unusual period of high drama. Following calls by the Interior Ministry to the public to be extremely vigilant, Prime Minister Jacques Chirac declared that "only chance" can help to foil an attack like the one planned in the RER. Interior Minister Charles Pasqua promised, when he took office, that the police would "terrorise the terrorists". But the police have no leads in the search for the perpetrators of this abortive attack, who have previously carried out several similar operations.

In an interview in Le Matin, the minister responsible for public safety, Robert Pandraud, said the investigation into the March 20 bombing of a shopping mall off the Champs Elysée had given no leads "in an environment that is especially difficult to penetrate." No preventative action is then possible. Only the vigilance of the public and luck can foil terrorists.

The appeal to the public has not been accompanied by any explanations of the terrorists' motives, nor consequently of the problem posed by Abdallah Ibrahim's situation. Officially nobody is saying anything about whether the man could be released by resorting to a reduction in his sentence. The current investigation into cases in which he is charged in Paris — the assassinations of an American and an Israeli diplomat — is not over. If it results in a nonsuit (no case to answer), as indications in July seemed to suggest, then the French authorities will have to decide to release Abdallah Ibrahim and expel him (he was sentenced to only four years' imprisonment in Lyons).

Pandraud emphasised that the "course of justice cannot be interrupted" and pointed out "it is unthinkable for the present government to put the least pressure on the courts." So the government's position, as explained by Pandraud, appears to be that the investigation will be neither interrupted nor speeded up towards a nonsuit.

In July when the case seemed to be heading towards a quick release for Abdallah Ibrahim, the United States (it has filed a civil suit in the case) which refuses to accept the conditions laid down by the terrorists, prevailed upon Chirac to review his position. At the time Interior Minister Pasqua advocated granting quiet and effective concessions so as to spare the government from falling into traps otherwise impossible to escape, while Justice Minister Albin Chalandon, who would have had

Continued on page 13

King Cheops and the mystery of the sand

By Jean-François Augereau

CAIRO — The two French architects who, drawing their inspiration from Edgar P. Jacobs's comic strip, "The Great Pyramid Mystery", set out to unearth the mystery entombed in the Cheops pyramid, have doubtless succeeded *(See page 12.)* Too bad for the sceptics who thought their story too good to be true.

True, they have not found any treasures. Nor stores nor manmade cavities. On the other hand, the small group of technicians from the Compagnie de Prospection Géophysique Française (CPGF), who are helping them, did bring up a bit of sand from a core sampling during a drilling last Friday afternoon. For them, as for the two Arras architects — Gilles Dormion and Jean-Patrice Goidon — the first day of the Muslim New Year could not have started more auspiciously.

Sand? Is that all? Ah, but this sand was "a fine yellow in colour, crystalline and with a scattering of quartz flakes." "A very fine sand that you could use in an hourglass," explained Jacques Montluçon, the official EDF (French Electricity Authority) official in charge of the operation. Sand the likes of which has never been found in the Great Pyramid before. So what? — To understand the full import of this discovery and properly decipher all the information contained in this sand, we need to go back to the moment when the first drilling began in the right wall of the gallery leading to the Queen's Chamber in the area between stones 15 and 16. Thinking that the storehouses sought were located below the gallery, the two architects asked the CPFG to carefully drill the limestone at an angle.

The pyramid-builders worked in cubits (about 53 centimetres). Dormion and Goidon therefore suggested that the drill be stopped every time it sank one cubit, one-and-a-half cubits, two cubits and so on. They did well, for while Wednesday's and Thursday's results were disappointing, on Friday they were luckier.

Under the combined efforts of Jean-Pierre Baton, Jean-Claude Erling, Pierre Delétie and Yves Lemoine, who had to work in extremely cramped conditions, the rock yielded up its secret. "Through two cubits," said Montluçon, the "limestone was very tough." Two drill bits gave out. But after drilling 1.20 metres, the team spotted a joint between two stone slabs.

Then, after drilling 60 centimetres more, they came upon a new joint corresponding to the piercing of a cubit-thick stone. This arrangement was more than fortuitous for the French team. The next events only confirmed their view. A 20-centimetre core sampling revealed the presence of mortar and cement, followed by 25 cms of the famous sand. Then came again 30 cms of limestone.

For the first bore, the drilling stopped after reaching a depth of 2.65 metres. The presence of this mortar, cement and sand together with this regular arrangement of rocks cut into cubits suggest, in the two architects' view, "the presence of deliberate cavities." Now they say "we're going to try to enter through the door of this whole complex." Says Jean-Patrice Goidon: "We think we have reached either a wall separating the Queen's Gallery from a storehouse, or a stone situated between two storehouses, or again the corner of a storehouse where sand has accumulated."

But there remains one hypothesis that nags at everybody's mind, though no one wants to talk about it: the possibility that this may be a reservoir of sand whose flow was utilised to move the stone portcullises concealing heaven knows what.

The time has now come to analyse the results and draw up an overall strategy for the next borings. There is no doubt they will take place; not only because of the French team's success, but also because it has been proved that analysis of architectural anomalies, completed by a series of microgravimetrical measurements offer a good tool for examining Egyptian pyramids.

Gadafy's tirade leaves nonaligned nonplussed

By Jacques de Barrin

HARARE — Colonel Gadafy had some of the guests (at the summit of the Nonaligned Movement) "in stitches", like the Zaireans for example, and others smiling broadly, like the representative of an African country who found his speech "original". Yet the Libyan leader's tirade against imperialism on Thursday last week, delivered from the platform at the eighth summit of Nonaligned Movement nations, and above all the savaging he gave the movement itself ("I want to say goodbye, farewell to this funny movement, to this fallacy — farewell to this utter falsehood") left most of the delegates puzzled. Privately, however, they admitted with some embarrassment that they agreed with the hotheaded speaker.

If there was one person, however, who took the outburst very badly, it was Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe, and the current president of the Nonaligned Movement. How else could he have reacted when Gadafy bluntly questioned the very concept of nonalignment underpinning the movement of which he had just been named president for the next three years? In a curt rejoinder to this unqualified assertion, Mugabe appealed to the audience which gave him a big hand: "I don't think everybody can uphold that our movement is pointless even if there is room for qualitative improvements." "Mr Mugabe is fulfilling his role as president when he declares that the movement is alive," said a member of the Libyan delegation. "But he jolly well knows that it is in fact dead." As he left this "historic" session in the convention hall, President Ali Khamanei of Iran congratulated Gadafy for saying out loud what everybody was saying inwardly.

"Nonalignment doesn't exist," Gadafy kept repeating all through a wide-ranging, confused and rambling speech occasionally interrupted by feeble cheers, but more frequently by a noisy chorus of four tough women bodyguards in battledress standing behind the speaker who picked up and repeated the speaker's phrases: "America can be defeated: let's rise to the challenge." The local authorities had to send for the riot police to push back some 100 Libyans who tried to force their way into the hall to act as cheerleaders.

There must be no illusions, said Gadafy. The neutrality cherished by the "Great" of the nonaligned world like Tito and Nehru is no longer an option today. "We must be completely aligned against the United States, Israel and Nato members," explained Gadafy. And he called on his listeners to choose, in a world divided into two blocs, the "side of liberation" and combat "the opposing camp of imperialism" alongside the forces of the socialist countries.

Big countries like China and India, which have the atomic bomb to command respect, could afford to talk about neutrality. But for small states, the speaker considered, nonalignment was just fiction. He thought the "French-speaking countries are a disgrace to Africa". As for the members of the Commonwealth, it was quite simple: they "are the property of Great Britain'.

Revolutionary that he is, Gadafy said he had not come to Harare to sit beside undesirable people like the representatives of countries which have recognised Israel — Cameroun, the Ivory Coast, Egypt and Zaire among others — which he described as "puppets of imperialism, agents of the United States, reactionaries, traitors and spies."

When some delegates laughed at his warnings, Gadafy cried: "You're laughing? It's shameful." Later, however, Cameroun, the Ivory Coast and Zaire issued a communique expressing their "contempt" for Colonel Gadafy's "insane" declaration.

(September 6)

Libyan leader highlights movement's contradictions

COMMENT

ALLOWANCES must be made for resentment in Colonel Gadafy's outburst at the Harare summit of Nonaligned Movement nations. The Libyan leader, who currently holds most of those attending the Harare conference in contempt, had himself proposed to host this eighth conference of heads of states and government leaders. Nonetheless, this diatribe does have an interesting aspect. In the long history of a movement which has been so clever at refusing to see its own contradictions while preaching to the rest of the world, no one had ever put the boot in with such glee.

When the leader of the Libyan revolution wondered aloud before his stunned audience what kind of "international charade" he was taking part in, he was indicting those states which are quick to vote resolutions against Israel and South Africa while continuing to pursue profitable relations — official or not — with these self-same countries. He should also inveigh against those countries which constantly pick on the United States as the cause of all the world's ills but overlook the second superpower, the USSR, even sparing its occupation of Afghanistan. The Colonel presents the international situation in his own way, but he is true to his own logic when he calls upon each member-state to say on which side it stands, instead of going along with a purely cosmetic unanimity.

In the era of the decolonisation struggle, the "spirit of Bandung" had brought together countries often having widely different governments and interests. Now that independence has been won, the Nonaligned Movement has a hard time finding appropriate themes for rallying its members. A minority of some 12 openly pro-Soviet states routinely propose so-called progressive resolutions that are absentmindedly voted by a vast mass of countries, while another minority of pro-Western nations do not consider it necessary to contest such resolutions, which in the end are of no great practical impact.

Bragging by a Colonel Gadafy proposing to arm and train African National Congress guerrillas, and the new twist — this is more serious — introduced by Fidel

Continued on page 13

Will the Great Pyramid yield up its secrets?

By Jean-François Augereau

ONE of the Seven Wonders of the World, the Great Pyramid built at Giza by Cheops in about 2600BC may not yet have yielded all its secrets, say two French amateur archaeologists. There is a strong possibility, they claim, that within the bowels of that imposing limestone construction almost 150 metres high there could well exist undiscovered passages and cavities — and even a second royal chamber reached by a different entrance. The investigations are taking place this week.

The originators of this bold theory are two architects from the northern French town of Arras, Gilles Dormion and Jean-Patrice Goidin. Undaunted by fears that they may be trespassing on ground normally reserved for specialists, they examined anomalies in the construction of the Great Pyramid and posited the existence of a hitherto unknown underground funerary complex.

As a result of their efforts, preliminary investigations were organised by the French Foreign Ministry in conjunction with the Department of Egyptian Antiquities. They were carried out by the research department of Electricité de France (EDF) and the Compagnie de Prospection Géophysique Française (CPGF). These revealed that the passage leading to the queen's chamber contained an "abnormal zone" behind which there could well exist three or four hidden cavities.

Philippo Guillemin, deputy head of social and human affairs in the French Foreign Ministry, was more than surprised, as can easily be imagined, when he was approached in December 1985 by the two architects in question, who at that time knew more about skin-diving than archaeology. They set about proving to him that they had possibly succeeded where generations of earlier investigators had failed.

His surprise was all the greater because Dormion and Goidin first became interested in Egypt's Fourth Dynasty after reading a comic book called "Le Mystère de la Grande Pyramide". The book gives a faithful reproduction of Cheops's great gallery, which leads to the king's chamber. On either side of that passage there is a series of mortise-like cavities.

The two architects wondered what the cavities were doing there, but could find no satisfactory explanation, not even in the specialised literature on the subject. One question led to another, and soon they were hunting for similar architectural anomalies all over the pyramid.

In their view, the existence of such quirks could not possibly be coincidental. Cheops's architect was far too painstaking in his design of the Great Pyramid to leave anything to chance. The northern orientation of the construction is only one twelfth of a degree out. And the pyramid's base is almost perfectly level, with a difference of a mere 4.5 millimetres over an area of five hectares.

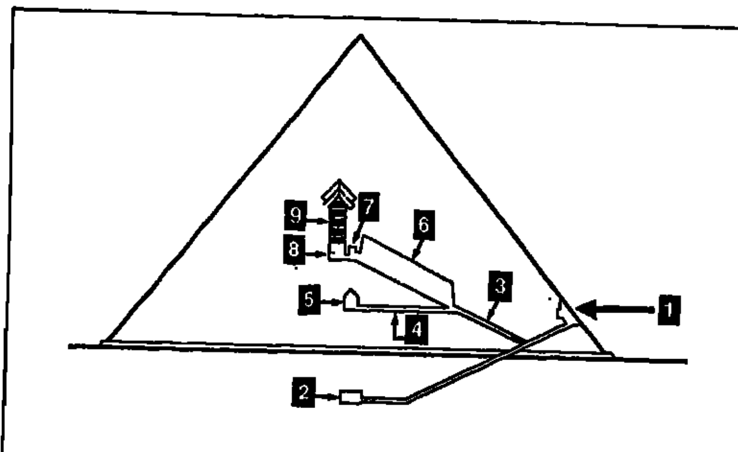
The careful calculation, geometrical sophistication and meticulous accuracy that went into the pyramid resulted in an almost technically perfect edifice, which makes its oddities all the more curious.

Nine such architectural anomalies were investigated. One of them, already mentioned, is located in the passage leading to the queen's chamber, where the existence of three or four hidden cavities has virtually been proved.

Another anomaly concerns the massive set of stone lintels, seven metres high which form a gable over the pyramid's relatively small entrance. The latter is surmounted by three 20-ton slabs whose purpose has remained a mystery.

Most curious of all is the fact that the last of these slabs rests against masonry made of Turah limestone, which was normally used as a facing material for the pyramids' internal passages. Why?

The purpose of masonry forming a gable is to protect the space beneath it. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the present entrance, which was left relatively visible, was designed to attract tomb robbers, while at the same time containing a cunningly concealed second entrance.



Our present state of knowledge of the internal network of passages in the Great Pyramid is as follows: a north-facing entrance (1), topped by an outsized gable-shaped construction, gives access to a passage which leads to an unfinished chamber (2). Forking off the corridor is a rising passage (3) which opens out into the great gallery (6) and gives on to another passage (4) leading to the queen's chamber (5). At the end of the great gallery is the "portcullis chamber" (7), which protects the king's chamber (8), where the "relieving chambers" (9) consisting of a succession of granite slabs can clearly be seen.

Another odd feature is the celebrated "Portcullis Chamber", located at the end of the great gallery, and whose purpose was to protect the King's Chamber. The three granite "portcullises" which were supposed to keep robbers out are regarded as ineffective by most archaeologists because the height of the chamber is such that it is relatively simple to climb over them.

What curious motive could Cheops's architect have had in constructing a protective device that was bound to be violated? Similarly, why does that same chamber contain a sliding double lintel?

Once again, it looks like a gigantic bluff. It is almost as if Cheops actually wanted the robbers to find their way into the burial chambers, but with just enough difficulty to make his trick convincing. Surely his intention was to conceal something else?

That much can be guessed from the curious architectural design of the King's Chamber. This normal-sized chamber is surmounted by a series of five cavities known as relieving chambers (because they are intended to transfer the downward thrust laterally). These are separated from each other by granite slabs. In all, the complex contains some 2,500 metric tons of stone from quarries located several hundreds of kilometres away.

Like the Queen's Chamber, it is topped by limestone slabs arranged to form a gable. It is difficult to explain why the limestone slabs were placed so high above the chamber. Nor is it clear why, in this case, the relieving chambers do not in fact relieve any weight or help in any way to spread the downward thrust.

Once again, the unusual and artificial height of the gable formation may have been deliberately intended to transfer laterally the tremendous thrust of the masonry above it and thus create, on either side of the relieving chambers, a kind of "protected zone" which might house a yet undiscovered cavity.

The two Arras architects succeeded in convincing both France's inspector general of historic monuments, Yves Boiret, and an architect specialising in Middle Eastern archaeology, Bernard Maury. As a result, Philippe Guillemin of the French Foreign Ministry provided around F90,000 francs (about £9,000) for an initial investigation. This and further investigations were authorised by Ahmed Kadry in Cairo, head of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities.

Results were not long in coming: by May, the team organised by EDF and the CPGF came up with very strong evidence for the existence of three or four cavities in the passage leading to the Queen's Chamber at the exact spot postulated by Dormion and Goidin.

Similarly, one of the measurements effected in the first relieving chamber revealed a weak point in the northwest corner of the king's chamber — not exactly where it was expected to be found, but almost.

These results have prompted the French Foreign Ministry to seek an excavation authorisation from the Egyptian government and micro-drilling is now being carried out in the passage leading to the Queen's Chamber. If this proves successful, endoscopes will be inserted which would reveal what is inside.

EDG and the CPGF are carrying out the drilling in liaison with Kadry's teams of Egyptian specialists. If this initial work is successful, and if important archaeological finds are made, the two Arras architects will have cracked the code which fooled Caliph Mamun and his tomb robbers in the 9th century AD.

List of long-term unemployed goes on growing

By Alain Lebaube

UNEMPLOYMENT, say OECD experts, "works like a trap". Those unlucky enough to be caught in it have the greatest difficulty getting out, and are likely to stay unemployed for a long time. The labour market, says a (French) observer, is like a "sieve" keeping out a part of the workforce, and when the rotation of employment and unemployment picks up speed, the spells always become longer.

Whatever the metaphors used, the fact is there and its causes are known. Long-term unemployment is, next to youth joblessness, among the most serious consequences of the employment crisis. It is particularly acute in Europe, and the OECD is forecasting it could even become worse in the coming years.

One clear sign of it is the sharp increase in the number of those unemployed for two years and longer. Belgium holds the record here with 48.6 per cent of its job-seekers being in that situation in 1984 (22.2 per cent for the United Kingdom, 21.9 for France and 14.2 for West Germany). In the case of those unemployed for 12 months and over Belgium again heads the table with 68 per cent in 1984, followed by Holland (55.5 per cent), France (42.3), Italy (41.9 in 1983), United Kingdom (39.8) and West Germany (32.7).

What is just as worrying is that long-term unemployment is concentrated in special categories. The weakest and most vulnerable are of course the first to be affected. Often as not with little or no special skills, these people live in areas where the recession has hit hardest or work in sectors where large-scale industrial restructuring has been undertaken. This is moreover the reason for the reduction of long-term unemployment among women between 1979 and 1984 — they were either discouraged from seeking employment or openings for them in overwhelmingly male employment sectors were eliminated.

The handicaps pile up. Professional background, qualifications, age and the state of health contrive to hold up the return to employment, which has become very uncertain, and in which those without jobs have little faith. As jobless spells lengthen, the value of qualifications diminishes and interest in working itself evaporates. Potential employers are not impressed by job applicants with histories of long-term unemployment. It is an inexorable process. A large number of those rendered unemployed during the last recession have remained trapped there, notes the OECD in its annual "Employment Outlook".

To the high-risk groups must finally be added the risks arising from the functioning of the labour market itself. Labour flexibility and precariousness add to the dangers and manifest themselves in an increase in repeated spells of unemployment. Notes the OECD: "Repeated short spells of unemployment are but the first stage in a downward spiral leading to long-term unemployment."

As for chances of improvement, the American example is there to dampen optimistic forecasts. True, the number of long-term unemployed did fall between 1983 and 1985, but slowly. When unemployment falls, long-term unemployment also diminishes, but there is a major time lag, adds the OECD report. A year to two years went by between the decrease in the number of long-term unemployed and the recovery in the job market. The first to benefit from job offers were those recently unemployed, followed by long-term unemployed younger people.

In this general situation where experts are agreed not to stress the particular influence of compensation modes or unemployment insurance systems, France is unfortunately no exception. Far from it. Basically, it exhibits the same features as the other countries and has identical problems.

At the end of July, 31.8 per cent of those (or 700,000 persons) registered with the ANPE (National Employment Agency) had been out of work for over a year. (INSEE, the national bureau of statistics, noted that in March 1985 1,030,323 people had been unemployed for over a year, including 318,181 under 25, 519,381 between 25 and 49 and 122,761 persons 50 years old and over.) An estimate made at the end of 1985 showed that 160,000 unemployed persons were were under 25 years, 492,000 between 25 and 59, and 48,000 over 60. Women accounted for more than half (52 per cent) of the unemployed persons, but 64.9 per cent of them were under 25.

More than half the long-term unemployed have low educational levels equivalent to a primary school-leaving certificate, or secondary schooling without any certificate. More than half the cases were again concentrated in 19 trades only.

As a recent inquiry pointed out, they are all likely to remain unemployed for even longer. The spells of work done over the past five years do not add up to over six months for young persons under 25. In the case of 44.6 per cent of unemployed persons under 50 years, the long-term loss of employment was preceded by a period of "discontinuity" in the jobs they did. On the other hand, the over-50s have often experienced long periods of stable employment, since 69.8 per cent of them worked continually in the same firm.

Their "employability", say experts, is low. One in 12 is "illiterate and without any qualifications acquired on the job". In addition, their "productive capacities" have been affected by health or social adjustment problems. Their hopes of finding another job diminish with time.

What to do? French specialists and OECD experts at least agree on one thing: the solution does not lie in expanding training facilities to improve people's qualifications. It is better to give individual assistance and advice or again to channel people into less qualified jobs which will perhaps require some preparation.

The initiative undertaken with training courses for the long-term unemployed follows this line. Of the 75,000 persons who underwent such training, 30 to 50 per cent — depending on the categories — have found jobs. And yet, the possibility is also raised of "inventing new forms of transition towards inactivity" for catering to the situation some unemployed persons find themselves in as a result of deterioration — irreversible, in certain cases — suffered as a result of long spells without work.

There is however one bright spot

Continued on page 13

Morocco braces itself for Gadafy's wrath

By Jean de la Guérivière

Morocco is bracing itself for possible retaliation by Colonel Gadafy following King Hassan's announcement that he was abrogating his country's two-year-old treaty of "union" with Libya. Rabat said it had no option but to repudiate the treaty because Gadafy and President Hafez el-Assad of Syria had attacked Morocco's gesture in receiving Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres. The Moroccan authorities also announced on Sunday, August 31, that four Arabs — two men (a Palestinian and a Lebanese) and two Tunisian women — "belonging to an international group of terrorists" had been arrested.

Opposition sources in Morocco point out that Hassan's decision will probably mean the expulsion of some 30,000 Moroccans working in Libya who had been spared up to now. Measures would appear to have been taken in anticipation of such an eventuality.

In his usual address on the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the Libyan revolution, Colonel Gadafy said: "I think the break was forced on King Hassan, which means that Morocco is not a free country. I don't think King Hassan took the action in a normal frame of mind. He may be going through a crisis, like Reagan."

The Algerian daily, El Moudjahid, noted that Hassan's decision to end the "union" showed that the referendum organised for approving the Oujda treaty was "just playing to the gallery". A Sahrawi leader is quoted by the Algerian press service as saying he thought "new prospects" were opening up in relations between the Polisario Front and Libya.

IF COLONEL GADAFY is sufficiently clear-headed to worry about the possibility of being rapped a second time by the United States for his bad manners, he is not likely to be reassured by Morocco's attitude. By taking the realistic step of abrogating the treaty of "union" he had himself proposed to the Libyan leader, King Hassan has avoided putting himself in an increasingly awkward situation should the United States take action against his former "ally".

After the US's Gulf of Sirte raid, Rabat had to perform very skilful contortions to avoid antagonising Washington while at the same not appearing to stab Libya in the back. Morocco assured Libya of its "complete solidarity", which was the least that Tripoli could expect from the signatory of a treaty whose Article 132 stipulated: "Any attack directed against either of the two states would constitute an aggression against the other." Considering that Hassan has firmly condemned terrorism, he could consider there has been no naked aggression, but merely a salutary call to order.

The setting up of a "defence council", provided for under the treaty, had been put off sine die. So slow had been the process of forging the joint institutions that the second anniversary of the treaty's signing went by last month almost unnoticed in Morocco. The official Moroccan news agency published a brief message from the "secretary-general of the union", a Moroccan, but there was no comment on it in the press, with the exception of the organ of the old Istiqlal nationalist party which expressed the hope that the "spirit of Oujda still remains, in spite of the conspiracies of certain people." Few people cared about the treaty, although it was approved by 99.7 per cent of the voters at a referendum enthusiastically held on August 31, 1984, the very week that President Mitterrand made a much commented on "private visit" to Morocco.

Even if Morocco could, a month later, credit its union with Libya for Tripoli's promise to withdraw its troops from Chad, the United States was never convinced that the "unnatural marriage" celebrated at Oujda was a good thing. It did not publicly express displeasure, but indicated its feelings to the Moroccan king as long as there were no signs of a separation.

Gadafy: snubbed

The United States seemed to play along with Algiers, and this was capped with a visit to Washington by Algerian President Chadli in April 1985. More than anything else, the Americans took their time about considering a Moroccan shopping list of military hardware for which Rabat was hard put to find the cash. In this area, however, Rabat did have arguments for catching American attention.

There are strictly speaking no US bases in the Moroccan kingdom. Mohammed V in fact never accepted the Franco-American agreement of December 27, 1950 which provided for the military bases ceded to the United States after the 1942 landing to remain under US control. The bases were eventually evacuated, but in return for US credits and arms deliveries, Washington has obtained facilities at several Moroccan airports since a joint military commission was set up in February 1982.

It was already clear at the first anniversary of the "union of states" that both parties distrusted each other. Hassan II never did go to Libya as was stipulated in the Oujda treaty, and Gadafy did not visit Morocco. Gradually, the Americans became reassured. They formed the biggest foreign contingent of guests at the 25th anniversary of Hassan's enthronement celebrated on March 3. The sight of so many American delegations of politicans, businessmen and leaders of all sorts, including CIA boss William Casey, in the hotels in Marrakesh showed the extent of US involvement in the country and how safe they feel there.

On June 23, Rabat announced that Hassan had been invited by President Reagan and would be going to Washington on July 22 on an official working visit — the previous being in May 1982. The alteration to that timetable was because of Shimon Peres's visit to Ifrane.


Hassan: union dissolved

The break-up of the union with Libya — which was eased by the fact that the Syrian-Libyan communique condemning the Ifrane meeting was frankly insulting to King Hassan — not only clears up whatever "misunderstandings" may have briefly existed between Rabat and Washington. It also creates a new situation in the region which affects Algeria in particular. President Chadli is going to redefine his policy in respect of the Polisario Front and Colonel Gadafy.

The suspension of Libyan aid to the "Democratic Arab Sahrawi Republic" (DASR) helped Morocco to push the construction of its defensive "wall" so far into the western Sahara that the military problem seemed almost settled. But two zones still remain not under Moroccan control. The first, in the south of the former Spanish Sahara, is just an extremely inhospitable desert. The second, between the Algerian and Mauritanian borders, includes Tifariti, claimed by the DASR as the chief town within the territory it controls. The Moroccans say, however, they recently went beyond the "wall" on a reconnaissance patrol to Tifariti without meeting a living soul.

Could Algeria take advantage of a probable switch in Gadafy's attitude towards Polisario to try to revive the war? Some observers think its economic problems, related to shrinking oil revenues, prevent it from spending even more on a struggle whose outcome is uncertain. Others consider that, as the ruling group is increasingly forced to take liberties with the official socialist doctrine precisely to stave off economic disaster, the single party's hardliners would be hardly likely to put up with withdrawing support from Polisario as well, considering that it is an integral part of former Prime Minister Houari Boumedienne's legacy.

For the present, given a border dispute and the ambitions of regional hegemony dividing them, Algeria has to decide just how far it can trust Gadafy. The two sides tried to narrow their differences early this year at a meeting between Chadli and Gadafy at In-Amenas. Perhaps sensing an imminent American attack, Gadafy called on Chadli to enter into a "strategic alliance" against the United States. Once the attack took place, Gadafy got only fine words, as from the rest of the Arab states.

Following his condemnation, jointly with Hafez el-Assad, of Morocco's "treachery", Gadafy, while awaiting Hassan's reaction, sent several envoys to Algiers to urge Chadli to join him in meeting the "Zionist-American challenges". But Chadli, in a message sent to the colonel on the 17th anniversary of the Libyan revolution, merely expressed his "support and solidarity".

(September 2)

Long term unemployed

Continued from page 12

in so grim a picture. When the unemployment trap closes on a member of a family, the rest of the family or people close to the victim rally round him and help him out both financially and psychologically. An entirely new style of cohabitation has sprung up for finding accommodation, primarily for young persons, and a system of pooling earnings functions with everybody kicking in to pay the family expenses.

This has prompted a group of Lille researchers to note, following a study of the mining region, that it is "wrong to lump all long-term unemployed together with the poor". This is perhaps also the reason that the social explosion unemployment was expected to trigger off just did not happen, for family togetherness has succeeded in absorbing the shock of the crisis. There is no longer any talk of a generation conflict, and young adults stay with their parents to make economies. A sign of the times.

(September 2)

Libyan leader

Continued from page 11

Castro when he established a linkage between the withdrawal of Cuban soldiers from Angola and the ending of apartheid in South Africa, could harm the cause of the black nationalists to the extent that they provide justification for the hard line taken by the whites.

However, during the summit, President Botha was clever enough to make a gesture to the Africans by proposing a meeting on the continent they share. This is in line with the statement made last month by President Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast inviting fellow African leaders to engage in a dialogue with Botha, whom he described as a "moderate" white, and lashing out at the "irresponsibility" of people who incite the South African blacks to insurrection. The question is whether French-speaking black African leaders, who were liberally insulted by Colonel Gadafy, are ready to take up the gauntlet. At any rate, a good many delegates at the Harare conference gave the impression that their countries' policies had little to do with the rough-and-tumble of a meeting where violent speeches are a substitute for shared postures.

(September 6)

Attempted Metro bombing puts pressure on Chirac

Continued from page 11

the responsibility for reducing Abdallah Ibrahim's sentence, argued in favour of a firm line. Firmness also appears to have been championed by the secretary-general of the RPR (Rassemblement Pour la République), Jacques Toubon, who is chairman of the National Assembly's Law Commission.

As for Jacques Chirac, sources at his Matignon office suggested on Friday last week that he has so far not made up his mind. He would be faced with a very prickly problem if the Paris judge conducting the investigation decided there was no case to answer and if the United States, which is now party to the prosecution, decided not to resort to procedures forcing a continuation of the judicial investigation. Giving in to terrorist demands only a few months after government leaders proclaimed their intention to have done with terrorists would look like an admission of defeat. Furthermore, while the United States is preaching and leading a crusade against terrorism, the French government would run the risk once again (after the refusal to allow US planes to overfly France in their raid against Tripoli in April) of looking like an inconsiderate ally. And this time, that responsibility would be borne by Chirac alone, for President Mitterrand is opposed to doing a deal with the terrorists.

The opposite decision could again set off bloody attacks and expose the government to accusations of powerlessness perhaps even within its own Majority. As the other achievements on the question of public security are not convincing, Chirac and his allies would look exposed on an essential plank of their election platform.

(September 7/8)

COMMENT

Hostages appeal for government action

After weeks of silence, the Islamic Jihad again manifested itself on Tuesday, September 2, when it warned that the French government would be held "responsible for any negative action" that might be taken against the hostages it holds in Lebanon and ordered it to "move away from American policy". The communique was accompanied by a video cassette in which one of the hostages, Jean-Paul Kauffmann, pleaded for help from the French government.

Pressure is mounting again on the French government and it seems to be coordinated in a curious way. After the recent attacks on French troops of the UNIFIL (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon) command stationed in southern Lebanon and the killing last week by a remote-controlled bomb of three French soldiers of that force and attempts by the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Fractions (FARL) to extort concessions, it is now the turn of the Islamic Jihad to renew its threats against the French hostages in Lebanon. That pressure was brought home dramatically by an abortive attempt to blow up a Paris underground train.

In the video cassette, which was left on Tuesday last week at the West Beirut office of the American TV network ABC, Kauffmann (a journalist working for the weekly Evénement du Jeudi who was captured in Beirut on May 22, 1985), voices a genuine cry of despair and says he risks death if the French government does not change its policy and meet his kidnappers' demands. Wearing a tee-shirt and freshly shaved, Kauffmann looks quite haggard. He explains in a jerky voice: "Anything may happen . . . We're tired, nervously exhausted, sick; our friends must put urgent pressure on our leaders — I repeat, urgent pressure — and do so before our kidnappers lose patience."

Since two other French hostages, Philippe Rochot and Georges Hansen (part of a TV crew), were released on June 20, "we got the impression," says Kauffmann, "that our leaders, having obtained a gesture, were no longer interested in us . . . in short, we feel we have been completely abandoned."

Apart from Kauffmann, the Islamic Jihad movement apparently also holds five other French nationals: two diplomats — Marcel Carton and Marcel Fontaine (since March 22, 1985); a research worker, Michel Seurat (kidnapped at the same time as Kauffmann, Seurat's "execution" was announced by the Jihad on March 5 this year); and two members of an Antenne 2 television crew — Jean-Louis Normandin and Aurel Cornea, who were captured on March 8. In his video statement, Kauffmann hinted he was being detained in the company of Carton and Fontaine.

"WE'RE GOING THROUGH moments of anguish and are constantly beset by thoughts of death," says Jean-Paul Kauffmann in the video cassette recorded by his kidnappers. This is the only phrase in the statement wrung from him that we can completely believe. In their face-off with a democracy, the kidnappers are taking the easy way by forcing their captives to beg for help from parliamentarians who are free to ask their questions and journalists free to write their articles. And they use threats to get a man, who as a journalist knows the complexity of the problem, to take responsibility for their simplistic dilemma: "See our families and children again, or die: it's up to the French government to choose."

In fact, the real choice, the more difficult one had to be made well before this last episode of the scenario so ingeniously concocted by the Jihad. It called for an answer to this question: is it right, is it even reasonable for a state to negotiate with those who threaten to kill one or several of its citizens? Is it right, or even reasonable to give satisfaction or hope (as happened when two members of the Antenne 2 TV crew were released on June 20) to the kidnappers, who were credited with being quite pleased that "French policy in the Middle East was beginning to change"? The state, subjected to extortion, finds its reward in the joy of reunions which temporarily diverts attention from the humiliation suffered and the ever-present threat.

But this kind of cruel law very quickly comes into its own again. The moment the financial negotiations with Iran (over repayment of an advance paid by the former Shah of Iran) hit a snag or drag on, or the members of the hit squad that tried to murder Shapur Bakhtiar are kept in prison, a despairing hostage immediately pops up on television screens. If the hostages are all freed, tomorrow the blackmailers will go looking for others in an inexhaustible reservoir.

When Prime Minister Jacques Chirac obtained the release of the first two hostages by going about it much more discreetly than previous governments had done, but also by quite definitely bending his policy far more than he might have done had he not been under pressure, that promising start seemed to justify all hopes. It was perhaps a trap deliberately set to raise the stakes.

Has Paris made the mistake of taking the kidnappers and the power — Iran — inspiring them to be like businessmen who are unscrupulous about the methods they use and tough in their bargaining practices, but in the final analysis on the level?

It is not impossible that Iran, involved in an insane and ruinous war which it refuses to end against every rational consideration, needs not only money to finance its fight and the weapons to continue it. Perhaps it also aspires, like its allies in Lebanon — a fractional splinter group of a shattered society — to "punish" France "the ally of Iraq and the United States" and make its position untenable. The government, which assures it is continuing its efforts to obtain the hostages' release (this is the least it can be expected to do), cannot give into blackmail.

(September 4)

Are French police vigilantes threatening war on Arabs?

HAS A GROUP of conspirators inside the French national police or French intelligence decided to act on its own initiative if the government dithers about taking firm measures against Arabs alleged to be operating in France as agents of fundamentalist Shi'ite factions? Senior Interior Ministry officials have been quite seriously debating this matter since several French newspapers, including Le Monde, received an anonymous note early in June threatening tit-for-tat retaliation if the French hostages in Lebanon were not released.

The typewritten, duplicated message, signed by a mystery organisation calling itself the "French Liberation Front" (Front français de libération), accused the French government of "prostituting" itself to Iran, Syria and Libya in negotiations over the hostages' release. "That's enough, you don't negotiate with terrorists," said the message, and went on to give the names and addresses of three persons on its hit list — Lebanese nationals living in France — whom it accused of working for the Hezbollahs or the Amal movement.

At the end of August Le Monde received another message from the French Liberation Front. The government, it said in effect, was doing a good job of countering home-grown terrorism, but unfortunately the same could not be said of the struggle against "Islamic terrorism". As a result, France "is currently serving as a reorganisation base" for the "FARL (Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Fractions), Amal and other Hezbollah groups" which were "restructuring themselves" and getting ready for an "explosive comeback". The message announced: "We have in our possession the identities and addresses of the main Amal, FARL and Hezbollah leaders in France. We are giving the government another chance to stop crawling before Arab terrorists. After that, we'll do what has to be done."

Presumably concerned about not being taken seriously, the Front sent confidential details along with its last message to buttress its credibility. The information concerned, among other things, the July 9, 1986 bomb explosion in Paris which destroyed the premises of the BRB (Brigade de Répression du Banditisme — crime squad) killing one person and injuring several others severely. Responsibility for the explosion was claimed by (the terrorist group) Action Directe and generally attributed to Max Frérot, one of the group's Lyons members. Now

By Georges Marion

here comes the French Liberation Front with a claim that the explosive used in that attack was a "high-fragmentation" type not usually employed in France but common in Lebanon and West Germany.

The conclusion is self-evident: the attack on the BRB was carried out either by a German or a Middle East group. By an odd coincidence, a four-man group of "Lebanese terrorists" arrived in Bordeaux at that time, but the French police, though tipped off in time, did nothing about it. The Front's message provides comprehensive personal data concerning the four alleged terrorists and is accompanied by a photocopy of an excerpt from a confidential Italian security service document on another Lebanese who is described as the group's "coordinator" and is "suspected of having assassinated the American diplomat Ray Leamon Hunt, who was killed in Rome on February 15, 1984."

So many precise details are worrying the Interior Ministry. For while the BRB's responsibility for the attack is still unproved, it is undoubtedly true that the explosive used is of a type more common in Lebanon than in France. Furthermore, the Bordeaux Lebanese do indeed exist. Tipped off by an informant and picked out when they arrived in France by the border police, they were kept under surveillance by the intelligence services and the DST. But, we are told, apart from the fact that they are Shi'ites, nothing can be held against them.

The French Liberation Front also refers to another case of terrorism. It says that some 1,000 highly precise timing devices, which could be utilised for making time-action bombs, were seized by the DST. While conducting its inquiries, the DST looked into the activities of a firm specialising in distributing equipment used for protection, eavesdropping and anti-terrorist work. But, say the anonymous informers, the DST's efforts were deliberately sabotaged, because the firm in question also works with certain official French departments.

(Since the disclosure of this information, Erwin Egger, a Swiss citizen and an international businessman, has been charged in Paris in connection with examining magistrate Jean-Claude Vuillemin's investigation into violations of French laws on arms and war equipment. Egger, 49, is chairman and managing director of Dioptra, a Swiss industrial firm specialising in precision machinery, in addition to being a director of another similar firm, Decobul. The two companies are based in the city of Bulle, near Fribourg. The French examining magistrate and counterespionage police are trying to find out for whom Egger was buying the timers and whether they might have been intended for Middle Eastern terrorists. The mysterious French Liberation Front had described the timers as "ultra-sophisticated and in particular undetectable, which can be preprogrammed for up to 12 hours and have an independent operational life of one year. The SC7A timer model is in great demand among terrorists." (Egger has been released under court jurisdiction.)

As in the earlier instance, the charges are backed up by details, some of which are approximate or untrue, but many are telling for the confidential information they disclose. It is true, for example, that after 983 timing devices were seized in Paris, a judicial inquiry was instituted on May 23 into violations of the law on arms and war materials. Examining magistrate Jean-Claude Vuillemin was in charge of the inquiry which was entrusted to the DST. The inquiry is still proceeding. Interior Ministry sources admit it is a "very serious" matter. It is clear the people hiding behind the FFL are well placed in the French anti-terrorist system.

It is not the first time that a "vigilante" organisation has attracted public attention by going to the press. Twice before, in 1974 and 1975, a group calling itself the Front Français de Libération Nationale wrote to Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, when he was President, to urge him to take a harder line. If he did not, the Front threatened, it would act. Several years later responsibility for several attacks was claimed by racist tracts carrying the same acronym. And finally in 1985, anti-Arab handbills, signed by a French Liberation Front, were distributed on two occasions.

Apart from the close resemblance between the two signatures, there is nothing to show that today's anonymous informers are of the same kind. The Interior Ministry has only presumptions to go on for the moment: they are either extreme rightwing policemen acting in accordance with their own convictions or policemen manipulated by a foreign service. What it finds most worrying is the nature of the confidential information revealed. "It's the sign of particularly shifty political manoeuvre," considers an aide of Robert Pandraud, the Public Security Minister.

(September 3)

The Washington Post

Failed Assassination

THE ATTEMPT to assassinate General Augusto Pinochet constitutes a severe setback to any hope for an easy or early return to democracy in Chile. The Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front, a guerrilla organization on the fringes of the Communist Party, says that it was responsible for the ambush; the general survived, but five of his bodyguards did not. The Front says that it will try again. Meanwhile the general has his troops combing savagely through Santiago for the perpetrators. He has also taken the opportunity to shut down a number of publications, arrest a couple of politicians who appear to have had nothing to do with the affair, and return the country to a state of siege, which legally endows the army with authority to do just about whatever it pleases in the name of rooting out the enemy.

General Pinochet's junta and its most extreme adversaries have much in common. Both rely on violence. Each presents itself as the only means of rescue from the other. Each draws its political strength from the excesses of the other. It is an example of political symbiosis of a most unwholesome sort.

Chile is now the most conspicuous laggard in South America's return to democracy. Among the larger countries, and those moving along the road to industrialization, all but Chile are now under elected governments. The United States, among others, has been trying to nudge General Pinochet in the same direction. But the general's most recent response was the declaration, earlier this summer, that he expects to run for another eight-year term when his present one ends in 1989. He claims to be leading the country toward democracy, but he evidently sees no need to hurry.

Going after him with machine guns will not accelerate progress toward a better government. The junta was brought to power by the rising disorder, and widespread fears of worse to come, under Salvador Allende's left-wing government in the early 1970s. By resorting to attempted assassination, the guerrillas of the left only reinforce the claim by which General Pinochet has perpetuated his hold on the country for the past 13 years — that he and the junta are the sole alternative to chaos and destruction. In fact, there are other far more promising possibilities. Chile has had much democratic experience, and successfully maintained a long constitutional tradition until the military coup. There are many Chileans who know how to make democracy work, and are deeply committed to it. But when the generals and the terrorists begin to go after each other, the democratic center is squeezed so hard that it can barely breathe.

Daniloff Formally Charged

By Gary Lee

MOSCOW — American journalist Nicholas Daniloff was indicted Sunday on charges of espionage against the Soviet Union, in a move that U.S. and Soviet officials said could pose a serious new obstacle to efforts to improve relations between the two superpowers.

Daniloff, the correspondent here for U.S. News & World Report, is the first American journalist to be formally charged by Soviet authorities with espionage, an offense that can carry the death penalty.

There was no indication when Daniloff would be put on trial, and he told a colleague by telephone Sunday he understood that the investigation could last six months or more. Without elaborating, however, he also said, "I received oblique hints that it will end before being brought to court."

The indictment was publicly announced Sunday night on the evening news on Soviet state television, after Daniloff had informed Jeff Trimble, also a U.S. News & World Report correspondent here, in a telephone call from Lefortovo Prison, where he has been held since being arrested.

Earlier, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov, appearing on CBS-TV's "Face the Nation," had said that Daniloff was about to be charged and "there is going to be a trial."

Daniloff, who was about to end a 5-year assignment here, was seized by KGB secret police agents Aug. 30 moments after he received an envelope from a longtime Soviet acquaintance. Daniloff said he had expected the envelope to contain newspaper clippings. But when the KGB opened it, Daniloff told Mortimer Zuckerman, chairman of U.S. News & World Report, who visited him in prison, it turned out to hold photographs of military installations and negatives of maps.

Gerasimov, interviewed from here by CBS-TV Sunday, said, "If you think he is innocent, we can learn pretty soon because there is going to be a trial." Gerasimov also charged that Daniloff "doesn't deny the things that he got in that unfortunate envelope were secret ones," and he said that "my understanding is that this particular envelope is not the only thing that they have against him." He would not give any details.

"Let us not make this case a hostage for Soviet-American relations," Gerasimov said, observing that "if you really want to ruin Soviet-American rapprochement, you can always find something happening here or there."

The formal announcement of the indictment and trial plans marked the beginning of a tougher official line here against Daniloff. The official Soviet Communist Party newspaper Pravda, breaking a weeklong silence on the case, attacked Daniloff and his American supporters, including Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

Western diplomats here interpret Moscow's threat of a trial and the hardened official line as a signal that the Kremlin is unlikely to accept any early resolution of the Daniloff case short of a direct swap of the American reporter for Gennadi Zakharov, the Soviet U.N. employee who was arrested on espionage charges in the United States and is being held for trial. The Daniloff arrest came exactly one week after the FBI arrested Zakharov moments after he paid a New York man for what U.S. officials said were classified documents.

"My case is moving into a more serious phase," Daniloff told Jeff Trimble's wife, Gretchen, who an-

Continued on page 16

Survivors Tell Of Pakistan Hijack Ordeal

By Richard M. Weintraub

KARACHI — President Zia said on Sunday that Pakistan would try the four hijackers of Pan American World Airways Flight 073 and pointedly noted that the country's terrorism law calls for the death penalty.

Zia said interrogation of the hijackers, one of whom was wounded during the violent conclusion of the incident Friday night, revealed that they were Palestinians but that "whatever facts have been revealed so far" show that "they have no connection with any government."

The Pakistani president's comments came during a press conference moments after his return from the Nonaligned Movement summit in Zimbabwe and only hours after survivors of the hijacking began to leave the country.

Between 50 and 75 Americans left on Sunday afternoon aboard a special Pan American flight to Frankfurt and New York by the same route that was to have been flown by Flight 073 before it was stormed by four gunmen early Friday morning on the tarmac at Karachi International Airport.

Eighty-nine Indian nationals, including 16 stretcher cases and four or five in wheelchairs, also left on Sunday afternoon aboard a special Indian Airlines flight to Bombay. Also aboard the plane were six coffins containing the remains of persons believed to be Indian citizens killed during the final moments of the hijacking. Indian diplomats said late Sunday afternoon that one or two more of the 18 dead have been identified as being Indian. About half of the 389 passengers aboard the aircraft were Indians. The flight originated in Bombay.

At least one more body has been identified as that of an American, bringing the number of American dead to three. Only one, Rajesh Kumar, has been publicly identified. Officials have been hampered in identifying some of the dead because passports had been taken from the passengers in the early stages of the hijacking.

During his press conference, Zia noted the long history of Pakistani support for the Palestinian homeland cause and expressed bewilderment at why Palestinians would carry out such a violent incident on Pakistani soil. The four hijackers were between the ages of 19 and 25 and were "youngsters, very motivated and highly volatile."

The hijackers had demanded that the plane be flown to Cyprus to free "friends" in prison there. Officials involved in the incident have speculated that these unnamed "friends" were four persons being held in a Cypriot prison near Larnaca.

Three of the persons believed to have been the object of the hijackers' demands were convicted in December of the September 1985 murder of three Israelis on a yacht in a Larnaca marina. The three, two Arabs and a Briton, are serving life sentences. The fourth is believed to be a Lebanese man who was recently arrested but is not believed to have been charged with any crime.

Zia said the military's reaction to the incident was "professional and bravely handled." He rejected Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gahdi's charge that Pakistan "bungled" the handling of the hijacking.

"The result was what we expected," he said. "If 15 minutes had elapsed . . . the result would have been far worse," Zia said. "It would have been hundreds" killed, he said, by the indiscriminate shooting, and the hijackers would have had time to detonate explosive charges they had placed in the plane.

He sharply rejected suggestions that security forces did not reach the aircraft until 15 minutes after the hijackers had opened fire on the passengers when the plane's power supply failed. Officials said on Sunday the commandos were only 200 yards from the plane and were on the scene within two minutes.

The end of the drama came 16 hours after it began when a generator supplying light and air conditioning to the aircraft as it stood at one end of the terminal tarmac began to fail and finally plunged the plane into darkness.

"Everything was normal until the terrorists got angry after the power and air conditioning went off at 9:45," said Wondran Dirk, a 22-year-old West German who was hit by two bullets in the legs.

"It was a holocaust," said Hussain Shaffi, 27, a laboratory technician from Reston, Va. "They (the hijackers) gathered all of us together and started shooting at us. The women were shouting, children were crying . . . The blood was all over. When we were getting out, it was all liquid, all blood."

According to officials and passengers, the incident began shortly after 6 a.m. as the plane almost had completed loading for the continuation of its flight.

Four men wearing the blue uniforms of the Pakistan Airport Security Force drove up to the plane in a Suzuki van similar to those used by the force. Suddenly they opened fire with automatic weapons and sidearms, rushing the plane's stairway.

Amil Ghazi of Rawalpindi, Pakistan, was among the last of the passengers to get off the bus and head toward the plane when he suddenly heard shooting. "I looked at the top of the staircase and saw a security force man holding an air hostess with a gun to her head," he said later in the airport terminal.

The gunmen ordered passengers from the first-class section to move into the area leading to the economy section. They ordered two Pan Am crew members still aboard the plane to contact the control tower. The three-member cockpit crew had escaped through an emergency hatch as the hijackers stormed the plane.

As they continued to hold the stewardess at gunpoint, Rajesh Kumar, a young Indian-American, began to argue with the hijackers, urging them to treat the stewardesses with more compassion. At that point, according to an Indian passenger from Bombay who did not want to be named, one of the hijackers grabbed Mr. Kumar, shot him in the back of the head and shoved him out of the plane.

As the heat of the day began to build, the hijackers demanded that a new crew be sent, including someone who spoke Arabic, and that the plane be flown to Cyprus. By late afternoon, officials had won a pledge from the hijackers to release women and children if the new crew was provided.

As darkness began to fall on the airport, which continued to function with almost normal flights throughout the drama, Pakistani officials moved a force of trained commandos into the airport fuel storage area which provided cover only several hundred feet from the parked aircraft.

At this point, the stage was set for the final hours of Flight 073, with the critical element being the generator supplying power for the parked aircraft. The hijackers became increasingly nervous as the lights and air conditioning began to fail.

Passengers later said they were ordered to gather in the center section of the plane and as the lights became dimmer, the hijackers, who up to then were said to have been friendly with the passengers, pushed them closer and closer together.

It was shortly after 9 p.m. when the generator began to fail. Passengers interviewed later said they had detected no outside movement when the shooting began between 10 and 10.15. The gunmen sprayed passengers with bullets and hand grenades reportedly were thrown.

Shaffi, the Virginia lab technician, explained that after the lights went off the hijackers started speaking in Arabic and then made everyone crowd together. "They knew it was time to start killing," Shaffi said, describing how the hijackers then threw three or four grenades and sprayed machine gun fire at the passengers for what he estimated as seven or eight minutes. "I thought I would be dead. I wasn't expecting to live. I couldn't believe they would shoot at kids and women and old men."

Shaffi ducked under a seat and survived. He said he tried to help a wounded passenger next to him, but it was too late: "I tried to lift him, but he was finished. I think a grenade hit him."

Dick Melhart, 44, of Pullman, Washington, said: "The people in the front rows were really vulnerable. I was facing backward and the people in front of me were badly shot up."

Amid the screaming and panic, Mr. Melhart said, he "made up my mind I had to do something." He shouted at a steward next to him to open the emergency door over one wing of the aircraft.

"Open the door, open the godamn door!" he shouted. But the steward was frozen in place. "I jumped over him and crouched down behind the seats and began to open the door. I had to rotate the handle 180 degrees, but it went about 140 and stuck. I stood up to try to get more leverage and a bullet went right in front of me. It didn't take much effort then to get it open."

Mr. Melhart said he found himself on the wing of the plane, and "it was a long way down. I saw the escape chute from the next emergency door open. I looked at the distance, and when there was a break in the people tumbling out, I took a running jump and landed right on the chute."

The Washington Post

Iran On The Move

THE FIERCE HEAT of midsummer is abating in the Persian Gulf, and weather more suitable for land warfare is returning. The buildup of troops on Iran's side of the front in its long, grinding war with Iraq suggests a major offensive this autumn, and possibly a climax to the war itself. Iran's purpose in seizing a Soviet freighter and holding it overnight remains unclear, and it may turn out to reflect nothing more than a tightening of nerves as both sides sense a turning point ahead.

The war has been going on for years, and resources on both sides are severely depleted. Even with substantial financial help from Arab oil producers, Iraq is now on the defensive. But while Iran holds the upper hand, it has taken enormous casualties and with the fall in oil prices it is constrained by lack of funds. Perhaps that pressure is contributing to the apparent intention of Iran to try to force the fighting, at last, to a conclusion.

The United States is in an unpleasant position. It has immense interests at stake in the outcome of this war, and very little influence over it. If the Iraqis should somehow manage to bring the affair to a halt along the lines of the status quo, that would constitute a substantial setback to Iranian national ambitions and to the religious movement that has inflamed them. But if Iran should somehow manage to crack Iraq's formidable defenses, the wave of Iranian-style radical fundamentalism would sweep more strongly than ever throughout the Middle East to the peril of many other governments there.

The fighting is almost within artillery range of Kuwait, which has no military force to speak of. Beyond it lies Saudi Arabia, which, despite its large expenditures on armaments, is hardly prepared to withstand a serious attack. But Iran might find that it did not have to attack. It might find that the threat alone sufficed to enforce its wishes. You saw evidence of that effect last month when OPEC (i.e., Saudi Arabia) came to a pricing agreement much closer than previously to Iran's demands.

The British Navy policed the Persian Gulf and enforced stability until it was withdrawn in the late 1960s and early 1970s. American policy then tried to build the Shah's Iran into a force that could take over over that role. The revolution demolished all hope that Iran would stabilize the region on any terms acceptable to the West. But it remains potentially the strongest of the countries that touch the Gulf, and the United States has not found the means to limit its growing influence.

Begging The Russians

A FEW weeks ago the U.S government offered the Soviet Union a subsidy if only it would keep its word and buy a certain amount of U.S. grain this year. The Soviets have now dismissed the subsidy as insufficient. The administration's response has been to offer to sweeten it. It is a craven posture; we are begging them to buy our wheat.

The subsidy was offered for the wrong reasons in the first place. Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole pressed it. His only idea was and remains to placate enough wheat farmers to keep the Senate in Republican hands this fall. Such figures as Secretary of State George Shultz resisted in vain. So first the administration knelt to the farmers; now it is kneeling to the Soviets as well. "Embarrassing," says Sen. Richard Lugar, the chairman of Foreign Relations. Though also a senior member of the Agriculture Committee and from a farm state, Mr. Lugar opposed the original offer. The new entreaty "demeans the process further," in his view.

Export subsidies have always been a fool's game. The basic farm problem is that the world is now growing more grain than it can buy; that is why prices and exports both are low. The problem in this country is exacerbated by relatively high farm price and income supports. These are encouraging farmers to keep up production, but deterring foreign buyers. The farmers produce for the government, at great cost to the taxpayers. The idea of export subsidies is to have the taxpayers then pay a second time to bring prices back down for foreign sale. But these subsidies can't compete with fundamental market forces. They cause other countries that can afford it to retaliate. Those that can't afford it lose foreign exchange. These are often countries that, in other contexts, the United States is trying to help. When the subsidies then go, as here, to adversaries, policy is upside down.

The Soviets have just kidnapped a U.S. citizen, journalist Nicholas Daniloff. He was convenient; they needed someone to trade for an accused spy. These are the people we are imploring to use our tax funds to lower their food prices. Come back, George Orwell.

Daniloff Formally Charged

Continued from page 15

swered the telephone when he called his home from prison Sunday afternoon. "The charge of espionage puts it on a par with another case we know," he said, in a clear reference to Zakharov, whose release the Soviets have demanded.

Daniloff earlier rejected a swap, but his position appears to have softened after a week of KGB interrogation. "The quickest solution would be if the two cases could be looked at on an equal basis," he said in Sunday's call, according to Gretchen Trimble. But he also told Jeff Trimble in the same call that he personally favored a solution in which the charges against him would be dropped, and he would be cleared.

Sunday's announcements indicate that the original U.S. bid to gain Daniloff's freedom has been rejected in Moscow. Reagan administration officials proposed that Zakharov be released to the custody of the Soviet ambassador in Washington while awaiting trial. In exchange Daniloff would go free, according to the proposal.

The formal charging also implies that President Reagan's appeal to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to free Daniloff, sent in a letter Friday and publicized Saturday, also was turned down.

Joanne Omang writes:

Secretary of State Shultz expressed "outrage" at the detention of Daniloff and rejected any direct tradeoff for his release. "Let there be no talk of a trade for Daniloff," he said. "We and Nick himself have ruled that out."

"Our traditions of free inquiry and openness are spurned by the Soviets, showing the dark side of a society prepared to resort to hostage-taking as an instrument of policy."

Europe's Left Could Finish NATO

WASHINGTON — Within 18 months, some axioms of America's postwar defense policy may face their greatest challenge in 40 years. And it will not be the Soviet Union that asks the questions, but two of America's closest allies, Great Britain and West Germany.

The challenge to NATO defense grows out of domestic politics in the two countries, and it illustrates the slow unravelling of the premises that once underlay the Atlantic alliance. In both Britain and Germany, the leading opposition parties are heading into elections advocating at least a partial withdrawal of American nuclear weapons from their territory. Conservative parties, committed to maintaining the nuclear status-quo, may yet triumph in both countries, but not without a wrenching debate.

What makes this electoral challenge awkward is that it leaves the United States little room to maneuver. If a new British government should demand the removal of American Cruise missiles from Britain in two years, where could the missiles be relocated? Certainly not in Germany, where the opposition is already demanding the removal of the Cruise missiles based there now.

Britain, long regarded by Americans as the bulwark of NATO, poses the most interesting challenge. With a general election less than two years away (it must be held by June 1988), the Labor party holds a consistent lead over Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government in the polls. On taking office, Labor says it would:

- Take "appropriate steps" to secure the removal of all American nuclear missiles and delivery systems from Britain and its territorial waters. This would mean the closure of all Cruise missile bases, F111 aircraft bases (it was British-based F111s that bombed Tripoli earlier this year), and nuclear submarine facilities in Scotland.
- Cancel the Thatcher government's plans to purchase Trident submarines. Labor would also decommission Polaris, Britain's aging "independent" strategic system, which Trident is designed to replace.
- Urge NATO to adopt a "no-first-use" policy for nuclear weapons and seek the removal of all battlefield (as well as strategic) nuclear weapons from NATO's central front.

Labor isn't alone in its anti-nuclear stance. Britain's third political force — the Alliance between the Social Democratic and Liberal parties, which may well hold the balance of power in the next parliament — has its own plans to reduce Britain's nuclear arsenal. The Alliance would:

- Press NATO to adopt policies that are "obviously defensive", based on the concepts of minimum deterrence and greater reliance on conventional forces.
- Ask the West (meaning America) to propose a moratorium on the deployment of new strategic systems.
- Call for a negotiated freeze on deployment of intermediate missiles in Europe, with the West taking a lead by halting further deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles pending an agreement with the Warsaw pact.
- Cancel Trident.

Many Liberals and some Social Democrats would go further. They would decommission Polaris as well, and some of them would call for the removal of American nuclear bases from Britain. In any realistic projection of the result of the British general election, the Liberals will win more seats in parliament than the Social Democrats, adding weight to the anti-nuclear coalition.

The situation in West Germany is very similar. The opposition Social Democratic Party heads toward next January's Bundestag elections with a policy that calls for: halting deployment of American nuclear missiles in West Germany and the removal of those already there; opposition to America's Strategic Defense Initiative; and a more defensive posture for NATO troops on the central European front.

Things could go right for Washington, of course. In Germany, the conservative forces of Chancellor Helmut Kohl — which are well ahead in the polls — could win again, just as they did in 1983. Or the Social Democrats could find room in their party platform for a more cautious approach. Their party spokesmen have been trying to reassure Americans in recent weeks that they are not committed to a unilateral removal or freeze of American weapons, and would link removal of American missiles to drastic cuts in Soviet Euromissiles.

Britain, too, could avoid falling off the cliff. Prime Minister Thatcher's parliamentary majority is so huge that she could perhaps hold onto enough seats to stay in power without support from any other party.

But under the skillful leadership of Neil Kinnock, the Labor party's prospects improve every day. And even if Labor failed to gain a majority and was forced to rely on tacit Alliance support, the only bright spot from the American standpoint would be that the Social Democrats would fight to prevent the closure of American nuclear bases.

No wonder senior Reagan administration officials are worried, or that they cite political developments in Britain as one of the most serious problems that lies ahead for the United States during the next several years. For sooner or later, if present trends continue, at least one European country is very likely to have a government with a defense policy miles away from that held by any conceivable administration in Washington.

How did we get into this mess?

An analysis of the changing nature of

By Michael Elliott

the Labor Party provides some clues. Labor has always been a fissile coalition, and on no subject have its divisions been so apparent as defense. Since 1945, two intellectual streams have competed for the soul of the party.

On the one hand have been unabashed Atlanticists — people like former prime minister James Callaghan or former defense minister Denis Healey — with no illusions about the Soviet Union, and close personal relationships with senior American policymakers.

On the other there have been a few (but not many) fellow-travellers, more neutralists, and a much larger body that is genuinely horrified by the prospect of nuclear war and determined that Britain should do all it can to avert it. The 40-year tussle between those two views has done more than anything else to lose votes for Labor.

That long struggle is now over. Neil Kinnock, Labor's leader, is a unilateral disarmer, albeit (in Labor's terms) a realistic one. And he leads a party in which Atlanticism has lost credibility. Why?

A common explanation is that Europeans and Americans have a different view of Russia. "We share the same continent," it is glibly said of the Russians by hopeful Europeans. It won't wash. Unless the geography books deceive, this is the same continent which for most of the last 40 years has been delighted to have American protection, and to lap up American culture.

No amount of a new street-wise style in Moscow is likely to make borscht and cabbage as popular as hamburgers and "Dallas". A European attitude to defense which tilts, however slightly, to Russian ends rather than American ones cannot be explained by a love of all things Russian. That leaves as the only plausible explanation a suspicion of some things American.

This suspicion of America can be explained in terms of changing generations. The European left-of-center politicians now leaving the stage or singing their last aria in politics — men like Helmut Schmidt, or Denis Healey — grew up with an America that was comfortable and familiar. American troops had fought side-by-side with British; American money had revitalized the German economy.

At a hundred meetings in Bilderburg, Ditchley, or Bretton Woods, Europeans and East Coast Americans found they had the same view of the world, the same educational background, the same liberal ideas. It was a world made in the image of the Anglo-American establishment, and it was shattered by the same thing that destroyed that establishment: the Vietnam War.

Curiously enough, the cleavages in political thought that were exposed by Vietnam have been at least as long-lasting in Europe as in America. The new generation of left-of-center politicians in Europe cut their teeth in opposition to the Vietnam War. They reached political maturity during the presidency of a man whom no European system could possibly have catapulted to leadership — and they have thus decided that he is unworthy of that role.

So every twitch of American muscles, in Libya, Grenada or Lebanon, every speech about the perfidy of Russia, is interpreted as evidence that the old common language between the European and American political elites is devoid of content.

The failure of Atlanticism has another important consequence. For if European politicians feel that they cannot look across the Atlantic for cultural and political succor, they will increasingly look to each other — and are already doing so.

The Labor party and the German Social Democrats have a joint defense commission; the Germans talk to the French Gaullists; Neil Kinnock provides discreet support to Spain's Felipe Gonzalez. Package holidays, soccer, and the spread of the English language across the continent (perhaps the greatest legacy of American hegemony in Europe) are combining in their different ways to make Europeans start to find some common political ground. (I have twice lived in America, but I have not the slightest doubt that I feel more at home in Paris or Crete than in New York or on Maryland's Eastern Shore).

This small political movement — and Americans still have no idea how hard it is for Europeans, only 40 years after the war, to come together — is one that successive American administrations have supposedly encouraged. Yet in the context of divergent attitudes to nuclear weapons, it can be argued that it is fraught with danger.

No European left-of-center party yet argues that Europe should become a third superpower. All of them, even the Labor Party, insist that their policies are consistent with continued membership of NATO. But electoral trends over the next two years could produce precisely the threat to NATO that everybody supposedly wants to avoid.

Consider this scenario: One European government sends American missiles home. The U.S. administration, with Congressional support, decides to remove its troops from that country as well — and there can be little doubt that American troops would leave Britain if Labor's policy was implemented. There would then be a tremendous incentive for Europeans to form a defense policy of their own. It's unlikely, given growing public and Congressional doubts about defending Europe, that anyone outside the Beltway would try to stop them. Bye-bye NATO.

For Europeans this would be dangerous, as it would give the Russians a window of opportunity on the central front. It would also be ironic, since any Europe-without-America would probably have a German hegemony. It would hardly be comforting for Americans, either. The dilemma is thus particularly acute. Everybody wants greater European unity; but nobody wants to see it at the cost of adding a third element to a world complicated enough with two.

It is not surprising that many European politicians, of all colors, are praying for an arms-control agreement between the superpowers, soon, that can soften the great European defense debate before it gets out of control.

Michael Elliott is a Washington correspondent for The Economist.

How The KGB Performs Its Dirty Tricks

By Kevin Klose

IT WAS the summer of 1980 and we were four: two American correspondents and two Russian university students eager to practice their English.

We had met by chance earlier in a train station in Riga, the capital of Soviet Latvia, where David Satter and I were staying. The two had helped us find an elektrichka commuter train, to a beach resort outside the city, then we parted company.

But after several hours sunbathing by ourselves, the same young men unexpectedly reappeared and invited us to lunch at a restaurant they knew of not far away. Satter, a Chicagoan who had been reporting from Moscow for four years for the London Financial Times, and I, based in Moscow for three years for The Post, were beguiled by their smiling friendliness.

So, amid pleasant, off-hand conversation about issues great and small, we walked along the beach, past families lounging on blankets, past the umbrellas, the brightly painted kiosk selling hot sausages, soda and ice cream.

The path led up onto dunes behind the beach. With each step, the sounds of waves breaking and children playing at seaside faded, replaced by seabreezes in pines.

We continued for about 20 minutes. I glanced up from the path. No other vacationers were in sight. A sudden chill tingled my spine. "How far to go?" I asked bluntly.

"Oh, just a little further," said one of the students.

We walked onward. The pines seemed denser, cutting down clear view. I began looking carefully for any sign of a restaurant. There was none. No boardwalk paths, no road, no tour buses. Now, my steps dragged. Uneasy foreboding gripped me. Where exactly were we headed?

I touched Satter lightly on the back. "Is this a Robin Knight gambit?" I muttered.

Satter stopped dead in his tracks. We glanced around at the empty forest, at the sun glinting through the branches, at our two companions, standing a few steps farther on, beckoning and smiling fixedly at us. Just a few weeks earlier, the KGB had waylaid Robin Knight, Moscow correspondent for U.S. News and World Report, while he was traveling with his wife through Central Asia. Their Intourist guide had smilingly taken the Knights to a restaurant outside Tashkent, put him into convulsions with a single shot glass of drugged vodka, then tried to jail him for drunkenness.

But the plot had failed because Jean Knight refused to drink the vodka forced on her. With luck and pluck, she had extricated her husband and got him back to Moscow safely. He was denounced just the same by the controlled Soviet press.

The smiles.

Was a restaurant behind the next sandy hill? Was that the joke our companions shared? Or would it turn out to be an unmarked building the Soviets would claim was a military installation — after our arrest on false charges?

Or was there no cause for alarm at all?

We strained to separate real from surreal. Seconds ticked by. I could hear my pulse jumping.

Then David nodded his head in agreement.

"I've walked too far, I'm tired, I'm going back," I announced. And we turned quickly and walked off the way we had come.

The Russians said nothing at this sudden aboutface, and did nothing. Were they stunned by our rudeness? Or had they just lost a variation on a Robin Knight gambit?

I'll never know. But I can still recall the way the foreboding grew, the clear sense that we were dangerously near to unknowable trouble at the hands of two young men whom we did not know.

And yet, we could have easily been mistaken, victims of our own Western paranoia. . . .

Now, six years later — with U.S. News and World Report correspondent Nicholas Daniloff under arrest by the Soviets on trumped-up charges of espionage — the scene on the seashore near Riga seems as clear to me as if it had happened today. It is strange, but what remains clearest of all is the very ambiguity of the episode, the way that apprehension suddenly darted in from the unseen edge of an outwardly normal encounter.

For ambiguity is the essence of life for an American correspondent in Moscow — even in broad daylight on a summer seashore just a short distance from a beach crowded with vacationers.

Where do such feelings come from? What gives them power?

Answers to such questions can be found in many places, some of them strange to people (including reporters) nurtured in a society that generally respects privacy and the right of free speech. One place to start is by recognizing the historic suspicion that Russians have for outsiders. Layered on top of that is a totalitarian regime that is bent on maintaining power by stamping out dissidence before it can spread and is willing to use extraordinary means to do so. As a result, one can never be sure when encountering Soviet citizens in seemingly casual circumstances if they are what they appear to be — or something else, agents or tools of the KGB. One learns to wonder even whether Soviet friends are really that.

Western journalists, especially American, are prime targets. The three dozen or so American reporters based in Moscow for the bourgeois imperialist superpower adversary's major newspapers, two wire services, news magazines and television networks enjoy a unique status. As working stiffs of the world's freest, most powerful, and often most inquisitive media, they are permanent objects of special dislike by Soviet security organs charged with concealing many truths about life in their country from all foreigners.

Attempts to divide the U.S. press from Soviet people begin at our Moscow front doors. Most of the several thousand foreign businessmen, diplomats, correspondents resident in the Soviet capital are kept in a series of residential compounds walled off from the rest of Moscow and guarded by the KGB (the Committee for State Security).

Ours, on broad Kutuzovsky Prospekt across the Moscow River from the heart of the city, was typical: four highrise buildings on a large, grassy courtyard, secured by a high concrete wall. Manning two booths at the driveway and sidewalk entrance, KGB men in the gray uniforms of city police guard the compound around the clock. Several hundred foreign families live and work here, helped by scores of carefully vetted Soviet staffers — translators, drivers, maids, laborers, repairmen — who come and go freely. All other Soviet citizens are barred from entry; the whistles of the guards are enough to stop all but the most foolhardy — or the deaf.

I once saw a Red Army colonel almost pass out in fright when he inadvertantly walked past the booth and was shrilly whistled down. Frozen in mid-step, he pivoted and scurried away without a backward glance like a soldier escaping fatigues.

Sometimes, it can be bullets, not whistles. In the autumn of 1980, several men burst from a taxicab and headed for a foreign compound entrance near ours. They died in a hail of gunfire from police who weren't trained to ask questions first. No one ever learned if they were trying to get in to see some correspondent — or if they even knew that the compound was inhabited by slandering bourgeois pen-gangsters, as the Soviet press styles Western journalists.

At the same time, the guards seldom interfere when Soviets are personally driven or escorted on foot onto the grounds by foreigners. The guards stare harshly at their fellow citizens, and likely report those they can identify, such as well-known Moscow artists cultivating exotic alliances, daring or disaffected intelligentsia or dedicated political activists.

Soviet staffers are regularly debriefed by KGB plainclothesmen on the comings and goings of their foreign employers, for whom they may have worked many years. The security forces, responsible for impeding, intimidating, and interfering with all foreigners in the country, aren't interested so much in the political views of bourgeois Americans, but in their personal traits, weaknesses, problems. Such information can be invaluable should the foreigners become active targets for reprisal by the gebeshniki, Russian slang for the secret police (drawn from the last two initials of KGB).

Foreigners' home and work telephones are usually tapped, as the clicks, whirs and ghostly echoes of one's own words coming back down the earpiece on routine local calls make clear. Sometimes, eavesdropping microphones have been found in ceilings and walls during renovations of living quarters. In our time there, one colleague, after years of trying, finally got permission to enlarge his quarters by adding an adjoining apartment to his own. He reported that when the dividing wall was torn down, close to a dozen microphones were found dangling from conduits in the demolished wall.

Foreigners' auto license plates were in colors opposite to the normal white letters and digits on black field of Soviet vehicles. A simple code assigned "K" to correspondents, "D" to diplomats, "M" to businessmen, followed by a country code of up to three digits (04 is any American-owned car). Thus, the Post's car was K-04-725, and any of the city's thousands of walkie-talkie equipped traffic cops could report its progress at a glance to central authorities.

The KGB supplements surreptitious surveillance with direct efforts at reeling in foreign residents. KGB agents are like deep-sea fishermen trolling for their catch. They never know for certain when a strike will come — but they have a pretty good idea of what's down there and how to go about hooking it.



One Saturday the first month my family and I were in Moscow, the phone rang in the office and I answered.

"Hello," said a woman's breathy voice in Russian-accented English. "Are you the new correspondent, Mr. Kevin Klose?"

"Yes." I knew enough not to ask who she might be, but I hardly expected the Welcome Wagon.

"I knew your predecessor — and I would like to know you."

"Well," I replied with the caution of any newcomer, "perhaps we could meet sometime."

"I mean, I knew him," she replied angrily. "You know what I mean, don't you?"

"What?" I replied in astonishment.

"And I want to make love to you as well."

"Wait a minute. . . . Wait a minute. . . ." I cupped my hand over the receiver and asked my wife, Eliza, to pick up the extension in the next room.

"Would you tell my wife what you just told me?" I said.

"Is this Mrs. Klose?"

"Yes."

"Well, I'd like to make love to you, too."

We slammed the phones down. A few minutes later, she was back.

"You think I work for the KGB, don't you?" she spat out in offended tones.

"Lady, I don't think it

Sounds too crude for sophisticated Westerners to swallow, doesn't it?

But some years later, after painstaking efforts by the secret police to set up the troll, a hook baited in similar fashion was taken by an American military attache stationed in Moscow. Soviet security forces then reportedly tried to blackmail the hapless officer. He reported the incident and was hustled out of Moscow by the U.S. Embassy.

No matter how many open, official contacts a correspondent cultivates successfully, one must always be careful. One is never secure from the prying, interfering presence of the state; and a conscientious correspondent can never forget that Soviet sources must always be protected.

The safest, most comfortable place for routine conversations is often during walks through Moscow's parks. Routine calls to Soviet friends are made from pay phones several blocks outside the compound. The names of Muscovite friends are never mentioned at home — by any family member or to any guest.

There is no surprise when Soviet friends incongruously turn on the television while discussing meat supplies. And there is special laughter when the official press denounces a child's "magic slate" writing device as an espionage tool. Muscovites have another name for this aid to safe, silent conversation: They call it a "Soviet phrase book."

A call from an unknown Soviet interested in speaking with a correspondent usually leads only to cautious contacts spread over days, weeks, or even months, as the American tries to satisfy himself about the authenticity of the other person.

How to do that? The circle of trust is very small in a nation of 280 million where the secret police are everywhere. One checks around with other reporters, or with Russians whom one does trust. Or one meets several times with the other person in parks or on sidewalks for inconsequential talks that may eventually lead to meaningful insights into life in Russia.

Meanwhile, beware the KGB's Robert Toth gambit. Toth was completing the final week of his Moscow tour for the Los Angeles Times in June of 1977, when he accepted a parcel from a Soviet he knew as a friend. He was immediately seized by the KGB for allegedly possessing state secrets and finally released only after a long interrogation, parts of which surfaced later in the trial on trumped-up treason charges of Jewish activist Anatoli Shcharansky.

So never accept anything proffered as documents, papers, or similar materials.

Yet we all violated these rules. For despite all the strictures and inhibitions, trust has a way of growing, stretching and stretching in helpless accommodation to the most innocent-appearing friendship.

But in a police state, nothing is immune from the police. For even though a Soviet may come in friendship to an American correspondent, the KGB has immense power to coerce Soviet citizens into betraying almost any relationship. No recent episode makes this more starkly clear than the Daniloff case.

Confronted with the Aug. 23 espionage arrest in New York of Soviet U.N. staffer Gennady Zakharov, the KGB needed a swap hostage fast. The secret police took just seven days to set up Daniloff, a savvy American correspondent whose guard may have been down because he was in the final days of a second five-year tour in the land of his forebears.

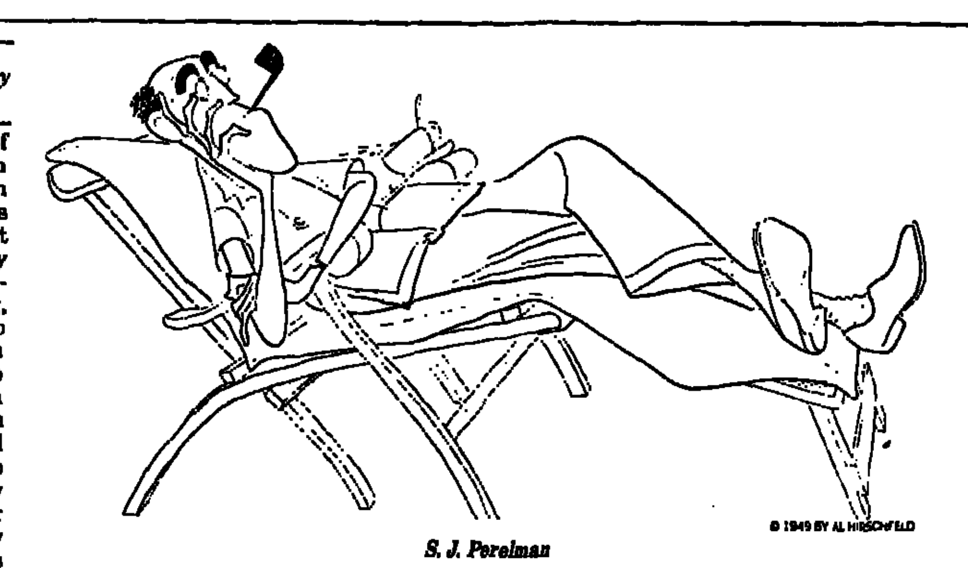
The KGB cloaked its move well, using for the purpose a man Nick had met years before in Frunze, a Central Asian capital more than 2,000 miles from Moscow, and whom he considered a friend.

Moscow-based correspondents are luckier than reporters working in some other parts of the world. They face no bullets, no frontlines, no bombardment.

But like a beacon on a foggy night, the coordination and speed of this KGB attack on Daniloff clarifies some ambiguities of life in the USSR. There is justification, after all, for the apprehension that shadows correspondents there. From time to time, as befell Nick Daniloff, there may be a kidnapping.

(Kevin Klose, who was The Washington Post's Moscow correspondent from 1977-81, is Midwest bureau chief for The Post and author of "Russia and the Russians: Inside the Closed Society.")

S. J. PERELMAN: A Life. by Dorothy Herrmann (Putnam, 337pp, $18.95).



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S. J. Perelman

Funny Peculiar

By Jonathan Yardley

SIDNEY JOSEPH PERELMAN was one of the great comic writers of the century, in this or any other language, and his death in 1979 ended what Dorothy Herrmann calls "the golden age of American humor," yet the comedian himself was neither especially funny nor especially agreeable. The Pereman who emerges in Herrmann's admiring, intelligent but lifeless biography is, to borrow the title of one of his books, a vinegar puss: a sour melancholy man who had something of a genius for unkindness in personal relationships, who fancied himself a ladykiller and humiliated his wife with real and pretended infidelities, who was prone to self-pitying depressions "so severe that they sometimes prevented him from writing for as long as a year," and whose snobbery toward the lower orders did not disguise his own origins in them.

His life, as Herrmann describes it, was devoted to the accumulation of "a long series of personas — man about town, intrepid world traveler, dashing Lothario, elegant dandy — that he tried to don in a search for self-identity, an adolescent dream of grandeur inevitably doomed to failure." A native of Rhode Island and the son of Russian-Jewish immigrants, he was an odd — and uncomfortable — mix of cultures: on the one hand "his Jewish ancestry, with its tradition of skepticism, learning and restless searching for identity," and on the other the "Yankee philosophy" that "believed in speaking one's mind, standing against the crowd and in pinching one's pennies, seldom squandering his money on cabs, gifts or friends or other luxuries." Add to this mix the insecurities inherent at being a poor boy in a rich boys' college (Brown), and you have all the ingredients for a severe identity crisis; it haunted and bedeviled Perelman all his life.

It was also, obviously, the mix out of which his humor grew. Himself a bundle of contrasts and contradictions, Perelman had a penetrating eye for them in other individuals and in society as a whole. He became best known for his play with words — the mind-bending puns, the non sequiturs, the incongruities — but his humor was more complex than that. More than a mere punster, he was a master of malice and ridicule; he was able to get away with directing it at others because he had the wisdom to direct it at himself as well. Even as Perelman himself played the boulevardier for all it was worth, in his impeccably tweedy clothes and neatly trimmed moustache, in his comic pieces he turned that boulevardier into a figure of fun, thus making himself seem less superior to the common lot of us than he actually thought himself to be.

Considering that his humor had so sharp an edge to it, the widespread affection with which he was regarded by his many readers is something of a mystery, one that Herrmann does not attempt to explore. But this is consistent with her biographical method, a genuine oddity of which is that although it analyzes Perelman the man at considerable length, it analyzes Perelman the humorist and writer scarcely at all. Surprisingly little of his work is directly quoted — did his estate place her under restrictions that she does not mention in her acknowledgements? — and even less of it is subjected to searching criticism. Considering that the only reason Perelman commands biographical attention is that he was a humorist and writer, this is a strange omission indeed.

On the purely biographical material, by contrast, Herrmann is diligent and often interesting, though she is inattentive to chronology and never manages to work up much narrative steam. Her discussion of Perelman's early years is thorough, especially his intimate friendship with an eccentric character named Nathan Weinstein, who changed his name to Nathanael West, wrote *Miss Lonelyhearts* and *The Day of the Locust*, and eventually became Perelman's brother-in-law. West was a major if somewhat elusive influence in Perelman's life long after his death in 1940 in a motor accident, and his sister Laura's emotional dependence on him contributed to the many difficulties and discomforts of her marriage to Perelman.

But on the evidence that Herrmann presents, it can only be concluded that the principal difficulty in that marriage was Perelman himself. He was inattentive, indifferent and unfaithful to Laura, and his treatment of his two children bordered on the cruel: "Like so many temperamental men of genius, he found children tiresome nuisances, which was perhaps the reason he preferred animals and birds . . . Boisterous children and sulky adolescents were difficult to control, and he took revenge on their behavior in his humor — exaggerating their faults to grotesque proportions." But he was madly in love with his mynah, Tong Cha, of whom one acquaintance said: "Tong Cha was a lot like Perelman. He made horrible noises and pecked at you constantly until he drew blood."

Perelman's life, like the lives of most writers, was a constant struggle to pay the bills, one not really alleviated until he collaborated on a successful play, *One Touch of Venus*, and, later, won an Academy Award for his contributions to the screenplay for *Around The World in 80 Days*. He spent a lot of time in Hollywood, which he hated, working on films of little or no distinction; he "divided his time between commercial writing and pieces of a literary nature, a pattern that would remain more or less for the rest of his life." The best of the "literary" work, if that is the word for it, was done for *The New Yorker* in the '40s and '50s, when he was also to temper his bitterness with irreverence and self-mockery; the later work too often is that of "angry, cantankerous man, condemning almost everyone and everything."

Perelman once wrote: "If I were to apply for a library card in Paris, I would subscribe myself as *feuilletoniste*, that is to say, a writer of little leaves. I may be in error, but the word seems to me to carry a hint of endearment rather than patronage. . . . In whatever case I should like to affirm my loyalty to it as a medium. The handful of chumps who still practice it are as lonely as the survivors of Fort Zinderneuf; a few more assaults by television and picture journalism and we might as well post their bodies on the ramparts, pray for togetherness, and kneel for the final annihilation. Until then, so long and don't take any wooden rhetoric." Perelman was a miniaturist and a caricaturist, and he knew that it was no mean thing to be either; to be both, and to raise both to the level of art, was a rare and enduring accomplishment.

North Korea's Kims Are Not Seen As Ordinary Men

Last of three articles by John Burgess

SEOUL, South Korea — Mount Paekdu towers 8,940 feet tall, the highest mountain in Korea. Since ancient times, Koreans have viewed it as a symbol of their nation, the birthplace of Tankun, mythical founder of their race.

Today, it has added significance for the 20 million people of communist North Korea. It is "the holy place of the Korean revolution."

It was there, schoolchildren learn, that President Kim Il Sung organized heroic guerrilla bands in the 1930s that were to rout the brutal Japanese colonial army. It was there, in a hidden forest encampment, that his son and heir Kim Chong Il was born one frosty February morning in 1942.

Like Tankun, the Kims were not ordinary men. Kim senior was an "ever-victorious, iron-willed brilliant commander . . . born of the spirit of the sacred Mount Paekdu," an official biography says. His son's first cry rang out across Paekdu's snow, a biographer recounts, "as if it was a signal for the attainment of the Korean people's aspirations."

Many Western historians believe the Kims' exploits on Paekdu have no basis in fact. They depict Kim Il Sung as an obscure guerrilla leader who was placed in power by Soviet troops who swept into Korea in 1945 at the end of World War II. His son, they say, was probably born in exile in Siberia.

If ordinary North Koreans ever heard that, they would scoff. To them the new Paekdu legend is fact.

Through a remarkable fusion of tradition and modern revolutionary ideology, North Korea has created the world's closest thing to monolithic society. It is 20 million people marching, with hardly a whisper of dissent, to the drums of "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung and "Dear Leader" Kim Chong Il.

It is also a nation of startling contrasts. It boasts of smashing reactionary ways but is celebrating an ongoing transfer of power from father to son, the communist world's first hereditary succession. It avows atheism, while building reverence for the Kims into a virtual state religion, complete with hymns of praise, idols, a complex iconography and unshakeable faith. It preaches international fellowship while keeping out all but a handful of foreigners.

It is tempting to dismiss North Korea as an absurd little fairyland trapped in some past age. Yet, from near total devastation after the 1950-53 war with South Korea, it has built a standard of living far ahead of other Asian communist states. It has made major strides in public health, education and agriculture and has virtually wiped away social ills such as drugs and prostitution.

It is also a highly militarized society — its regular armed forces have 885,000 members, Western intelligence agencies estimate — with which the United States might one day go to war. Forty thousand U.S. troops are stationed permanently in South Korea, which the North views as an American colony pining for liberation.

In between is the Demilitarized Zone, snaking across the peninsula to form a border.

North Korea's ideological bedrock is *juche* (pronounced joochay), usually translated as self-reliance. Like most everything the North Koreans regard as virtue, it is credited to Kim Il Sung. It is as much a state of mind as a philosophy.

It has borrowed heavily from traditional beliefs, including Confucianism, the Chinese cosmic view that shaped much of Korean society during its 2,000-year history. The ideal state is like a well-ordered family: the father is wise and benevolent, granting sustenance to his children, who respond with obedience and labor.

The Kims are so wise that they understand the most complex industrial project better than do the engineers in charge. Kim Il Sung, the state media says, personally selected the site for one of the country's largest irrigation dams 20 years ago. Kim Chong Il is seen in a North Korean film giving instructions on the installation of showers in a school.

With few exceptions, foreign visitors to the North leave with an impression of seamless unity. No one whispers pleas to take letters abroad. People seem contented, convinced, as their leaders tell them, that they have "nothing to envy" anywhere in the world.

No one can quite explain why this effort at regimentation has succeeded when most other totalitarian states have failed. On the coercive side are political indoctrination from childhood, some police repression, and in the old days, bloody purges. On the positive are genuine improvement of living standards and national pride. Isolation is key.

"They've insulated themselves and built up walls around their society," says James B. Palais, professor of Korean history at the University of Washington. Ordinary people, he says, "don't have anything that allows them to question what they receive as wisdom."

U.S. analysts rank the North Korean armed forces today as the world's sixth largest. "North Korea is not a country in the traditional sense," comments a U.S. officer in the South. "It is one armed camp from the DMZ up to the Yalu River." Following the principles of *juche*, almost every weapon they use, including tanks and heavy rockets, is manufactured locally.

Juche is also evident in economic strategy. While the South is thriving by tying its future to the world economy, its rival has relatively little foreign trade (about $2.5 billion in 1985, Japanese officials say, compared to the South's $31 billion). It prefers to make everything it can itself, ignoring economies of scale. Last year, North Korea reported a 220 percent increase in gross industrial production between 1977 and 1984. Western analysts generally mark down such claims substantially but agree the standard of living has gained markedly.

Visitors say nutrition appears to be uniformly strong. There are plenty of doctors, though it is unclear how much training they get. "Children's palaces," facilities that combine day-care, schooling and political education, are found around the country.

The economy is built on Soviet-style central planning and suffers from some of the same ailments of poor management, shop-floor ideology and mismatched quotas as the original.

In the early 1970s, North Korea went on a buying-spree for production equipment in Western Europe, accumulating an estimated $2 billion in debt. It soon defaulted, forcing rescheduling, and Western banks and suppliers remain wary of it. The financial magazine Institutional Investor last year put it last — 109th — in a ranking of world borrowers by credit-worthiness.

Juche theoretically governs foreign policy too but often bends for the Soviet Union and China. The tilt now is toward Moscow.

Soviet warships now call routinely, South Korean analysts say, at several east coast ports, partly to avoid ice that closes Vladivostok, their Pacific fleet's headquarters, during the winter. "In Najin port, we know that at least one pier is used exclusively by the Soviet fleet," says Kim Chang Soon, chief director of the Institute of North Korean Studies in Seoul.

In 1985, Moscow finally bowed to North Korean requests to upgrade their obsolescent air force with MiG-23 jets. About 30 have been sold already, Western intelligence sources say, with 15 or 20 more expected. In return, analysts say, Moscow's reconnaissance aircraft have received the right to over-fly the North enroute to Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam or on circular missions to spy on the United States, Japan and China.

Chances of a permanent Soviet base in North Korea are seen as slim, however. In the long run, "they don't trust foreign powers," says Palais, "including the Soviets."

Nightingales and moleskins

By Ralph Whitlock

MAIL generated by these weekly cogitations of mine increases. The other week I received, within a few days, letters from readers in Botswana, New Zealand, Bahrein and Bhutan. Also one from an expatriate in Yugoslavia who, from the outskirts of Belgrade (Beograd to him), writes:

"Although I live on the edge of a capital city there is a wood of some sixty acres nearby, fortunately left more or less to its own devices. In it are oak, ash, elm, maple, and locust, which, together with ground cover of jungle proportions in summer, ensures a vigorous wildlife — particularly an exceptionally wide variety of birds. So far this year I have identified over fifty species, including the hoopoe, though this one was only passing on migration.

"But the bird which has inspired me to write to you is the nightingale, especially after I had read in your article of June 8 that nightingales are scarce in your wood this year. Perhaps it is because some of your usual visitors have come to Belgrade instead! Prompted by another of your articles I combed the wood carefully last year and concluded that there were four pairs of nightingales, well spread out, in the sixty acres. This year by May 1st I counted at least fifteen cocks singing, many of them close to each other. Several of them were still singing at the end of June. Appreciating what great pleasure it gives *me* to listen to nightingale song I can only hope that next year more of them make the effort to travel a bit further north so that you can have your fair share!"

I appreciate the sentiment but doubt whether Yugoslavian nightingales would take a sufficiently north-westward course to end their journey in England. Germany or Poland are where they would be more likely to finish up. This year nine singing nightingales was the final total for our wood (1700 acres), as against 18 in 1985, though I suspect that more were present but were deterred from singing by the foul weather. But 15 in the 60-acre Yugoslavian wood is an unusually dense population — an average of a pair per four acres.

* * * *

A Canadian reader sends me a cutting from "The Toronto Sun", in which a columnist has been enjoying himself over my recent comments on Ploughman's Lunches and other manifestations of pub ingenuity. What particularly caught my attention was his graphic description of the men of Martock "stuffing beans inside their shirts and keeping them from falling down the legs of their *moleskin* trousers with a tight belt." Moleskin trousers are an imaginative touch of his own. However, seeing that they have been mentioned let me tell you what I know about them.

Having been reared on a farm I was naturally familiar with moles and their lovely fur, but my introduction to them as a commercial proposition came when I was about eleven or twelve, in the 1920s. One of our gang, a lad named Gordon, had spotted an advert for moleskins in some publication, *The Exchange and Mart* as likely as not. He sent for the literature and persuaded his father to invest in a batch of mole-traps. With a little guidance, we soon mastered the technique of setting the traps, but then, as we quickly realised, came the hard bit. The moles had to be skinned and the pelts pegged out and dried.

Fortunately Gordon had a delightful granny, who idolised him. "Our Gran will do it," he assured me, and so she did. She skinned them into a bucket outside the back door and pegged them out on a board, placed in an outhouse to dry. As the weeks went by she accumulated scores of them, and Gordon had already made up his mind how to spend his coming access of wealth.

Granny packed them into a parcel and off they went by post. In due course Gordon received a letter of thanks and a postal order. For a few shillings. The firm explained that most of the skins had been of inferior quality or had been damaged during the dressing. Like ourselves, our parents were indignant, for Granny was a perfectionist in everything she did. But we couldn't argue so had to write the venture off as hard experience.

Gordon's father gave the remainder of the moleskins to his Uncle Noah, who professed to have a moleskin waistcoat. Whether his wife used our skins to mend the waistcoat I don't know, but it is possible, for waistcoats are one of the few garments in which real moleskins are used. I know one farming family in the Pennines who certainly used to collect moleskins for fashioning into waistcoats.

However, the fabric commonly known as moleskin is not the skins of moles at all. It is, I think, a double-twilled cotton material, close-woven, warm and very strong, and also classified as a sort of fustian. An old friend of mine, a retired plumber who lives at Poole, has provided me with a sample — dark and discoloured on the outside but beautifully warm and soft inside the folds. He employed it, he tells me, as a wiping cloth to smooth the joints of lead pipes in lavatory cisterns. "We used to keep the moleskin well smeared with tallow (Russian bear grease) to keep it from catching fire," he tells me.

Manufactured moleskin is still obtainable. I believe there is one supplier at Rugeley, in Staffordshire, and I have in front of me a catalogue of a Leeds firm, which advertise moleskin, shirts, trousers, breeks and caps. Moleskin breeks are offered for £39.95.

The dig at Maiden Castle

By Martin Wainwright

TWELVE sheep and a shepherdess are about to join the payroll of English Heritage to help maintain one of the most important hill forts in Europe. The flock's task will be to nibble-mow the 47-acres of Maiden Castle near Dorchester, where a £400,000 archaeological dig ends this month.

The project, building on Sir Mortimer Wheeler's work in the 1930s, has reinforced evidence of a Celtic "city" of about 700 houses on the windy Dorset hilltop. Brooches, silver and gaming dice have been recovered from the chalky soil, along with shattered wine amphoras originally from France and Spain.

"The dig has revealed dramatic evidence of a society enjoying a sophisticated life style," said Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, the chairman of English Heritage, who visited the fort last week on the eve of a visit by 1,200 delegates to the 11th World Archaeological Congress in Southampton, ferried in 16 double-decker buses at 20-minute intervals. The invasion almost matched the assault by the Roman general, Vespasian, and the second Augusta Legion, who sacked the fort in 43 AD.

Piles of round pebbles from Chesil Beach, unused slingshots collected by the defeated Durotriges tribesmen, still lie pathetically by the remains of wattle huts and grain-storage pits. Sir Mortimer's successors, Doctor Geoffrey Wainwright and Mr Niall Sharple, have been helped by modern technology, including a magnetometer "X-ray" of the site.

The delicate traces of a civilisation dating back to 300 BC will be left open until the end of November for visitors to view before the turf is replaced. By 1988 English Heritage hopes that a visitors' centre at Monkey's Jump, a mile from the fort, will show a re-creation of part of the Celtic town.

Jambo not Rambo

TELEVISION by Nancy Banks-Smith

A READER rang to say that I didn't know him but ITN's film of the gorilla and the child was the most touching thing he had seen for yonks. Having delivered himself of two perfect truths, he hung up. An example to us all. I had missed it on Monday's News at Ten. Perhaps you had as well.

There's a famous seaside place called Jersey that's noted for fresh air and fun, and Mr and Mrs Merritt went there with young Levan their son. On a visit to Jersey Zoo the five-year-old boy fell into a pit of gorillas and lay there unconscious. An amateur cameraman, Brian De Lion (really, this gets more Stanley Holloway as we go along), filmed what followed.

A female gorilla with a youngster on her back hurried over, but Jambo, a 400lb male, inserted one tremendous shoulder and leaned over the child. His silver back, filmed from above, gleamed between monumental buttocks and shoulders. Levan seemed to be lying underneath a particularly impressive billiards table.

With the back of his hand, Jambo gently rubbed the slice of white skin which showed between the child's rucked-up T-shirt and the elastic of his underpants. "Incredibly," as James Mates the reporter put it, "Jambo was simply showing concern for the injured child." Every one who saw David Attenborough with gorillas in Life on Earth knows they are gentle and no one quite believes it.

Levan for one. When he came to, he turned his head and saw Jambo sitting guard. When you are seven feet tall you don't need to stand guard. Levan's scream was a high, thin, banshee wail which went through your ears like a wire. Gorillas are also quiet creatures. Jambo ran with the deliberate pace of a grand piano.

It was a wholly astonishing and moving piece of film, which, as Desmond Morris said, "Leads one to the rather sobering conclusion that had a young gorilla fallen into a pit of humans it might have been in a worse state than a young boy in a pit of gorillas." The largest of apes and the smallest of ITV companies came out of it rather well. Very little happens in the Channel Islands. As CTV put it, describing a typical day's output, "At 6.30pm quiet descends again but the day is not over." For an ape that prefers a quiet life, it sounds just the place.

Company of pimps

CINEMA by Derek Malcolm

NEIL JORDAN has come a fair way since winning the Guardian fiction prize in 1979 with Night in Tunisia. And there isn't much doubt that Mona Lisa, his third film, will carry the process further. It isn't as haunting as Angel, nor as imaginative as The Company of Wolves. But it is tighter and better constructed than either, and the performances flourish as they haven't before in his films.

The one everybody will notice, of course, is that of Bob Hoskins as our less than invincible hero — a small-time crook, just out of prison, who is re-employed by the man for whom he took the rap as driver and minder for a high-class call-girl. And rightly so, since Hoskins seizes the chance of a part written for him with both hands. A lesser actor might have verged into caricature of the innocent dummy who, having fallen for the girl, has to pursue her missing prostitute friend through what one might call the bowels and sluices of London.

But Hoskins, sensing that there is genuine tragedy here as well as comedy and character-building, avoids the Cockney act he could do standing on his script, and carefully avoids over-playing. It is, in a way, the reverse side of his underworld boss of The Long Good Friday, and I think the better one. But it does depend on good direction, which is what he gets. No wonder Cannes went overboard for him.

Even so, the truly remarkable performance, perhaps because it was not so obviously expected, comes from Cathy Tyson as the call-girl in her first film part. This niece of Cecily has the same natural intensity and presence, and an extraordinary capacity to make herself felt on the screen, like very few leading women in British films. No doubt Hoskins helped her, but the result is that she is very nearly as good.

Michael Caine as his seedy and possibly vicious boss, and Robbie Coltrane as the only real friend to whom he can turn, also contribute very watchable cameos, and in all Jordan seems to have learned a lot as regards directing actors. One should also mention Kate Hardie as the lost girl and Clarke Peters as the call-girl's former pimp. Both are excellent.

The film itself is ultimately not so resonant as either Angel or The Company of Wolves, though it is certainly better as out-and-out entertainment. And I don't quite know why. It is possibly because the sleazy, threatening and vice-ridden London it represents is not supposed to be a wholly realistic portrait, which is clear from both Roger Pratt's boldly-toned cinematography and the writing of Jordan and David Leland.

But, perhaps because he concentrates (very effectively) on telling his story and getting the tone of the acting right, Jordan ultimately misses out as far as his bows to other things, like the American film noir, are concerned. The psychology seems absolutely right, but it just misses being expressed through images. That, though, is a smallish price to pay for the compensations of a much superior narrative drive, and a sense of atmosphere created by other means.

Mona Lisa remains a little more than a good story, very well told, because it is so obviously a parable about the strong preying upon the weak, and the ultimate reasons why you can trust no one but yourself, which George, the perennial loser, discovers. If it is not a heavyweight film, there is still more to it than meets the eye and you would have to be blind not to enjoy it viscerally.

Another carve-up by Béjart

Mary Clarke laments a wasted opportunity at Covent Garden

THE Tokyo Ballet was at Covent Garden last week, paying its first visit as part of a big overseas tour. Unfortunately they wasted five of the seven performances on a ghastly muddle of an extravaganza by Maurice Béjart from which it's impossible to judge the quality of the company's dancing.

Béjart in his time has carved up many a musical masterpiece. Now he's carved up the whole culture of Japanese theatre, be it Bunraku or Kabuki. He calls the piece The Kabuki, 47 Samurais, and has some sort of misguided notion of showing a youth in modern Tokyo, in the prologue, who then gets transported, in the succeeding nine acts, back into feudal Japan. The action is based on Kanadehon Chushingura, a popular Kabuki play involving much seppuku, but I defy anyone to make head or tail of the story or to identify more than three or four of the 18 named characters.

The programme notes help not at all; indeed, they confuse the issue. As for Béjart's own "production notes" they would qualify in their entirely for Pseud's Corner and live up to his reputation for using his philosophical musings to justify banal choreography.

"In this piece," he tells us, "the symbolic art of ballet holds out its hand to Kabuki, the complete theatre, the perfect empire of emblems where myth rejoins everyday life . . ."

What we see in fact is a terrible mix of elements from Japanese theatrical traditions with bursts of classical choreography as kimonos are shed and ladies emerge in body tights and dance on pointe, of course.

The score by Toshiro Mayuzumi (recorded by the Tokyo City Philharmonic) bangs away and the samurais add their yells to it. The bright designs by Nuno Corte-Real give a teashop view of Japanese landscapes, Japanese lanterns.

As the young man Eric Vu-An (from the Paris Opera Ballet) shows an elegant technique and exotic presence — Béjart has always had an eye for good male dancing — and I should like to see him in some of the great Nijinsky roles.

How Kitchener relieved Toronto

Edward Greenfield explains why the city's symphony orchestra moved its recording centre out of town

THE Toronto Symphony Orchestra — now starting its latest European tour with five concerts in the British Isles — likes to boast of its place in a cultural centre unique in Canada and remarkable anywhere, a city with 32 theatres of various sizes, with national opera and ballet companies based there. Currently the orchestra claims a bigger subscription list of concert-goers than any other in North America, maybe the world.

Keeping upsides with the United States is always a vital aim in Canada. Over more than ten years as music director, Andrew Davis has done his utmost to build up the orchestra's individual image, even next to top American orchestras.

With an eye to audiences of the future he had made quite a speciality of children's concerts. He will dress up as a lion for Saint-Saens' Carnival Of The Animals, as old father Bach for a tercentenary programme, or even as the modern Major General in a Gilbert and Sullivan concert.

It gets the orchestra talked about, and so it was, too, when in the late sixties the young Seiji Ozawa came to Toronto in his first international post. Andrew Davis likes to feel he had kept the legacy of Ozawa alive, but also that he has built on the work of Ozawa's successor as music director, the late Karel Ancerl who, as Davis sees it, tried to soften some of the edges and bring a more European quality to the orchestra.



Karen Kain, Frank Augustyn and Jeff Hyslop with (front) Andrew Davis and Brian Macdonald, at Edinburgh last month rehearsing for The Soldier's Tale by Stravinsky.

Davis says of the Toronto sound: "I think this orchestra plays Mahler and Strauss with a great deal of voluptuousness, with string playing of tremendous colour and depth." That reflects not only his own work but that of the present concert-master, Steven Staryk, who earlier held similar posts with the Royal Philharmonic, the Concertgebouw, and the Chicago Symphony — a unique achievement — before returning to his native Toronto.

The voluptuousness, Davis adds, is especially true "when you get them out of this hall," and he gestures around to the comfortable and beautiful Roy Thomson Hall opened three years ago. Like so many modern halls this one has brought acoustic disappointments. "It has a wonderful clarity," explains Davis, "but not a lot of warmth or singing quality."

That acoustic, along with that of the orchestra's previous base, Massey Hall, has had an important effect on its reputation. Its recordings — mainly on CBS — have failed to capture with any subtlety the quality of the Toronto sound, and that is where this month the orchestra is confident of a new breakthrough.

The latest record, with Andrew Davis, marks its first collaboration with the British-based EMI since the distant days of Sir Ernest MacMillan. With Holst's suite, The Planets, chosen for the first new issue, EMI insisted that another hall had to be found.

So it was with the aim of producing a "sound spectacular" that the players migrated 80 miles or so along Lake Ontario to Kitchener, where another new concert hall has been built, with far more flexible acoustics. The whole suite had to be recorded in seven hours overall, a tight schedule, particularly in a new venue, but they did it.

No performing organisation in Canada is heavily endowed in the way of many in the United States, and if the Toronto Symphony boasts an exceptionally healthy budget, much of the credit must go to its general manager since 1962, Walter Homburger. Trained as an auditor, he became an impressario after the second world war, getting such artists as Horowitz and Rubinstein to play in Toronto, discovering and promoting the 14-year-old Glenn Gould (himself a Torontonian) before managing the orchestra.

It was Homburger who spotted Ozawa as a star conductor of the future, even though he was unable to keep him in Toronto for more than four seasons.

Over his ten years as music director, Davis has done remarkable work in refining the orchestra, notably in the string section, as I witnessed myself in ravishing concert performances of Strauss's late opera, Daphne, which defied all the problems of Roy Thomson Hall. Shrugging at my compliment Davis pointed out that "Strauss sounds so wonderful anyway," but he was not being fair to himself there.

In the British concerts on the present tour there is no Strauss billed, but Mahler's Ninth Symphony is being played and Stravinsky features prominently, another speciality.

Over 10 years Davis has given at least 18 weeks per season to Toronto, acting as a music director in an American rather than a British way, very much identifying with the orchestra. It has now been agreed that he will stand down in two years' time — he is anxious to do more work in Europe — but even then he will return for four weeks a year, and plans to keep up his Toronto home. As he says, "We've done too much good music-making together just to say 'That's it'."

A COUNTRY DIARY

IBBERTON: Here, far away from my usual hunting grounds, in the quiet, overlooked and by-passed chalklands of the North Dorset Downs we came up through such a tangle of nettles, mare's tail and twisted hawthorn. Pestered by flies and driven on by the thought of drier ground, we came to the chalky heights where ragwort was blooming in such profusion that the Charollais bullocks were half-hidden as we looked out across the wooded claylands of the Blackmoor Vale. We had come up from the hidden Stockwood Church, abandoned now but preserved beside its ancient yew by the Redundant Churches Fund. As we traversed Bubb Down the unmistakable mewing of the buzzard was heard; there it was, soaring on rusty wings above the beeches, its eyes on us as we went down towards Melbury Bubb. A Saxon called Bubba lived here and, a thousand years on, he would surely recognise his old home at the foot of the chalk. There were the Manor House and faded buildings around a weedy yard and, beside our track, a great, wooden, hip-roofed granary once so common in the cornlands here. There it stands, massive timbers upon saddle stones, where the sixteen stone sacks of threshed grain were carried on threshing days, safe from rats and mice so long as the wooden steps were taken away at the end of the day. These granaries have been defunct these thirty years but still inhabit some remote Dorset farmyards like the day-before-yesterday's ghost. Few folk come along these deep lanes to places like Melbury Bubb, as the visitor's book in the silent church shows, and they are better for this neglect. Then we went on by thatched houses set in hollyhock gardens, across a huge pasture where Guernseys were still grazing. Soon we heard a distant calling and saw the farmwife on the hill; the cows wove their own strands homewards for afternoon milking and we went on under the trees where an overgrown bridleway produced another battle with briars, nettle and convolvulus. We crossed a quite undiscovered corner of England.

Roger A. Redfern

BOOKS

Peat and pantheism

By Erlend Clouston

A HOUSE BY THE SHORE, by Alison Johnson (Gollancz, £10.95). THE ROAD THROUGH THE ISLES, by John Sharkey (Wildwood House, £14.95). THE INTELLIGENT TRAVELLER'S GUIDE TO HISTORIC SCOTLAND, by Philip A. Crowl (Sidgwick, £12.95).

STRANGE things happen to you in the Outer Hebrides. Alison Johnson, digging the foundations of an extension to her hotel, is suddenly aware of "an unpleasant smell in the air . . . an over-powering odour of burning flesh." No, it isn't the seaweed casserole; Mrs Johnson learns later that a dog has been burned to death in someone's house. "I should mention that I had been seven miles upwind of the fire."

About the same time, on North Uist, Mr John Sharkey is crouched inside the chambered cairn at the Langas stone circle, operating, for some mysterious reason, a geiger counter. "After 20 minutes exactly I received a violent 'kick' in the kidneys that sent me flying against the rock."

No wonder Nato want to build an air force base out there. Mrs Johnson and all the rest of the islands' "second sighters" can substitute for radar, while Mr Sharkey's druidic power fields will randomly electrocute Soviet saboteurs.

The Johnsons (man and wife) were drawn to the Hebrides for practical rather than mystical reasons. They wanted to run a superior kind of country hotel; Mr Johnson is good with his hands and Mrs Johnson cooks as well as digs. A House by the Shore is an account of their translation from dreaming Oxford post-graduates to hard-bitten proprietors of the only establishment in the Western Isles recommended in the Good Food Guide.

It seems to have been a famous and creditable struggle. They rebuild their Georgian manse from scratch. They fish their first cooker out of a stream. They advertise, people come, they are a success. En route, they develop an expertise at arcane island crafts like peat cutting, lobster potting, and (periodically) our friend "the singular Faculty of Seeing an otherwise invisible object" (Martin Martin, 1716).

Mrs Johnson logs all this with a brisk, readable, sensitivity. She is not afraid to admit that some people may consider them arrogant. She is not afraid to hint at a pantheistic spirituality that rather shows up the mealy-mouthed Church of Scotland, whose principled objection to the granting of a liquor licence to its ex-premises withers in the face of 1,000 pieces of silver.

Towards the end there is an evident wistfulness for a new challenge. The reader can sympathise. It must be terrible for the Johnsons to wake up in the middle of the Hebridean night and realise they have devoted their lives to pampering the expensive tastes of vulgar aristocratic fishing parties, ghastly food pseuds, and freeloading media men.

Certainly poor Mr Sharkey, still shaking from his experience in the chambered cairn, takes one look at Scarista House and decides that he had better take his scruffiness to "a more modest eating place." It was probably the Johnsons' loss. In The Road Through the Isles Mr Sharkey, a former manager of the Institute of Contemporary Arts, reveals himself as a dedicated hunter down of neolithic detritus. He has tramped to several hundred between Barra in the south and Lewis in the north.

Mr Sharkey is scornful of the archaeologists, who sniff at "the notion that, in their day, ancient structures elaborated their own form of technical drive and overt functioning." It is something to do with magnetism. Unfortunately his publishers do their best to undercut Mr Sharkey's credibility with his reader by letting through extraordinary howlers like Kilmartain for Kilmartin, the Orknay islands, Noah's Arc (twice), "zenophobic" etc., alas, etc. Geomancy looked suspect, but it's a nice word, meaning "divination from configurations of handfuls of thrown earth or random dots."

The Intelligent Traveller's Guide to Historic Scotland has the odd linguistic hiccup too. What, for example, is "a typically nucleated Hebridean black house"? Philip A. Crowl hails from Annapolis, so this must be some kind of Annapolism.

But Mr Crowl should not be teased too hard. The first half of his massive book (625 pages; 2lbs 12oz on the kitchen scales) unravels Scotland's history clearly and sympathetically, with cross references to the second half which is a gazetteer of the sites that best illuminate that history. He even awards stars, and one likes Mr Crowl all the more for awarding three to the Glenfiddich distillery to Eilean Donan castle's two.

For his next edition, however, he should know that at one stage Scotland had six, not five, universities to England's solitary pair. Fraserburgh's hour was brief (1595-1605) but need not be forgotten.

Limits of human resistance

By Alex Comfort

HIGH TECH HOLOCAUST, by James Bellini (David & Charles, £10.95).

THE human body is incredibly resistant to insult: for thousands of years it has coped with alkaloids in plants, oxalates, salicylates and carcinogenic psoralens in vegetables, and smoke from fires.

At times the hazards have broken through: Ancient Rome probably suffered from chronic lead poisoning. With the Industrial Revolution, environmental risks grew — the mid 1800s are full of horror stories about alum in bread, lead and copper arsenite in paints, and lethal urban smog.

What justifies Mr Bellini's concern is not so much the appearance of a new problem as the escalation of an old one, brought about by three factors — the growth in world population, the multiplication of new materials with ill-studied properties, and the appearance of manmade radionuclides. Overall there appears a very real risk that the ability of the ecosystem to resist human assaults is reaching its limits.

The book has evident faults. It is poorly organised, uncritical in some of its sources, scientifically wobbly in places (pyruvate is not an acid, for example, and neutrons are not stored in tissues) and readily brushed off as alarmist Green propaganda. But the issues it raises will not go away, much as commercial operators and harassed governments might wish that they would.

Every country in the industrial world is faced with a legacy of toxic dump sites and a steady accumulation of dangerous materials which it has no coherent policy to handle. The recent debate on Chernobyl clearly showed that decision makers who should know better have still not grasped that nuclear waste and nuclear fallout pose risks which are new in kind.

They go on repeating that all powerful energy sources are dangerous: true; but after a ruinous natural gas explosion like those under-reported accidents cited by Mr Bellini, reconstruction could start next day. A medium nuclear accident could render Britain permanently uninhabitable.

Even the decommissioning of nuclear plants may prove more dangerous than their operation, since, as Bellini correctly points out, the materials in spent fuel rods are considerably more hazardous if released than a warhead explosion, and nobody has the slightest idea how to dispose of them. The record of expertise in this area is highly unreassuring.

Bellini's Jeremiad covers so many environmental threats that we risk being deafened. Is the steady increase in lead load from car exhausts a cause of hooliganism? How many permitted food additives are actually poisonous? Will acid rain, the alternative to nuclear hazards if we insist on using cheap energy to the limit, destroy the ecosystem? And what about the increasing amount of live ammunition in medicine? The only thing he omits is the destruction of the ozone layer and the melting of the Polar ice caps.

We have to avoid being deafened, however, because many of the issues bear overstatement to get the mule's attention. Even leaving aside the record of deliberate lying by the nuclear and nuclear-military establishment, governments which live by improvisation have shown that they will not listen to evidence which calls for expensive or unpopular measures.

The history of the official shuffle around the issue of cigarette smoking does not offer much hope that health considerations will weigh heavily with Mrs Thatcher or the Congress — still less, perhaps, with Third World governments who see our example and are desperate to attain something like our standard of living.

It is, in fact, difficult to know how the damage done can be undone. There are already thousands of tonnes of indestructible man-made radio-active material. Even as "clean" a project as a tidal barrage could compound problems of river pollution.

The answer, if there is to be one, has to lie in well-informed public pressure: well-informed not only in identifying real as against exaggerated risks, but also in accepting the need for higher costs and enormously reduced energy use, and a market preference for higher cost, uncontaminated food over cheaper and more convenient garbage.

A few electoral victories for Greens, and a massive increase in consumer militancy against delinquents, would seem the best hope, and to this Bellini's book contributes, though it could have been a little more sober and much better documented. One does, however, have to attract the mule's attention, so one must hope it is read in parallel with the next official anodyne.

Boulez speaks

By Hugo Cole

ORIENTATIONS, COLLECTED WRITINGS OF PIERRE BOULEZ, trans Martin Cooper (Faber, £25).

ALMOST all Boulez's writings from the 1950s up to 1980 are included here; nothing, however, on electro-acoustic research at IRCAM, "since that would have involved making premature judgments about a venture that is not yet complete." Less than 50 pages of Boulez's own music, a short "appreciation" of Messiaen, and nothing at all on his contemporaries. This is in line with Boulez's overall policy; to clear the ground of unwanted lumber so as to preserve the utmost freedom of thought and action.

Boulez appears here in many roles: stimulating the specialists at Darmstadt seminars with subtle discussions of taste, aesthetics, and form; pouring scorn on traditionalists in sometimes quite vicious polemical articles; drawing up plans for an ideal musical state, and —most rewardingly — discussing Parsifal, the Ring, Pelleas in essays full of original thought.

He calls as witnesses the writers he has chosen as his literary ancestors — Baudelaire, Mallarme, Proust, Musil, Char, among them — to give us fresh and fascinating perspectives on Wagner's operas.

Though he tells us that his overriding aim is to break down the wall that separates the artist from the public, his undisguised scorn for those who don't share his tastes will not endear him to many music lovers. But whether we warm to Boulez is really immaterial — the fascination of these essays lies in the commentary they provide on his own work as man of ideas and man of action.

ENIGMATIST

ACROSS

1. Place for fruit trees or a town in Somerset (7).
5. A drop of water, and there's no gentleman in a suit (7).
10. Betting on the 4th, I acquire money dubiously (4).
11. One attending to niceties of form? (10).
12. Dark red girl on time (6).
13. Aye, Oriental mice and rats dropped in mineral (8).
14. Fieldsman, in rush, pulled himself up (9).
16. Disreputable Water Lord! (5).
17. I score with rage (5).
19. Pledge to accept too little? (9).
23. How to bottle myself, initially, a variety of beer (4-4).
24. Not the first time (6).
26. Wage packets a married person notes (5-5).
27. It sparkles when it is reflected (4).
28. I'm white with blue veins and need support for leg (7).
29. This is building, if I had backed entering the EEC organisation (7).

DOWN

2. Refusal concerning beans? (7).
3. Henry finished on a cushion of air (5).
4. Colours put in one's memory (7).
6. Larwood's partner split a shirt and I wade across with a bill (6).
7. MP has whip round for French town (9).
8. Drawing towards nightfall round Indian city (7).
9. 7 + 27 or 12 + 28 or ewe + Chinese party (6-3-4).
15. Concerning Murdoch's work at the end of the round (2, 3, 4).
18. Anti-violence statute or adroitness in Brazilian port (4, 3).
20. Tried, e.g. to put in new seed (7).
21. Relatives have call up after the motion (7).
22. A rhyme from King Charles at the pulpit (6).
25. Refuse to deprive bird of batting companion (5).

Chess

By Leonard Barden

No. 1923



White mates in two moves, against any defence (by E. Foschini). The black king has no legal moves, but the obscure key to this problem gained a tournament first prize.

Solution No. 1922: White K at KN7, Q at KB3, R at KB1, Ps at QN5, Q2, K2, and KB2. Black K at QB5, Ps at QN3, QB4, K2 and K3. Mate in two.
1 R-KB1 KxP 2 R-N1 ch and 3 Q-Q3 or 3 Q-QR8. If 1 . . . P-K4 2 R-QN1 and 3 Q-K3 or 3 Q-Q3. If 1 . . . K-Q5 2 Q-Q3 ch K-K4 3 P-B4.

THE London summer tournament circuit, Commonwealth Open and Lloyds Bank Masters, looked as if it would be a triumph for Scandinavia. Hjartason of Iceland had already won first prize at the Commonwealth Open, while at Lloyds Bank with three rounds to go a clear leader, Agdestein of Norway, was on maximum points. Agdestein, at 19 the world's youngest grandmaster, had Akesson of Sweden and Hjartason among his nearest rivals.

Then there was a sudden change when Julian Hodgson defeated Agdestein with a brilliant coup, went to the front, and was close to a grandmaster result. A double piece sacrifice in a queenless endgame is highly unusual, so this win should rate inclusion in manuals of tactical play.

IM Julian Hodgson (England) — GM Simen Agdestein (Norway)
Reti Opening (Lloyds Bank 1986)

1 P-KN3 P-Q4 2 N-KB3 N-KB3
3 B-N2 P-B3 4 P-Q3 P-KR3
5 P-N3 B-B4 6 B-N2 P-K3
7 QN-Q2 B-B4 8 P-K4

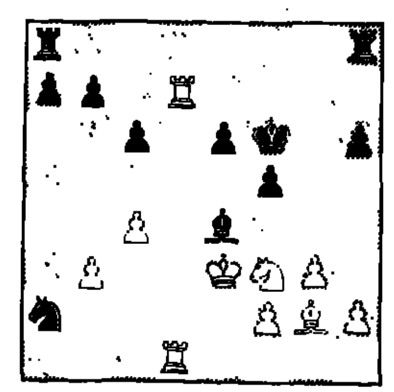
Varying from the usual 8 0-0 QN-Q2 9 Q-K1, when White has no special advantage but at least the queens are on the board.

8 . . . PxP 9 PxP NxP
10 NxN QxQ ch 11 RxQ BxN
12 BxP R-R2 13 B-B6 B-K2
14 BxB KxB 15 R-Q2 R-R1
16 K-K2 N-R3

The obvious way to equality is to exchange all four rooks on the open file, but Black wants more.

17 K-K3 P-B4 18 KR-Q1 N-N5?
19 R-Q7 ch K-B3 20 P-B4! NxP?

Black saw White's possible reply, but underestimated its strength.



21 N-K5! KxN?

More resistant is 21 . . . BxB when 22 R-B7 ch K-N4! 23 R-N7 ch K-R4 24 N-Q3 P-K4 is not convincing. White would instead play 22 P-B4! QR-KB1 23 R(1)-Q2 regaining the piece and planning doubled rooks on the seventh. Black's rook is tied to KR1 to stop R-KR7 and N-Q7 ch, so even a pawn down White wins easily.

22 R-KB7 B-Q4 23 P-B5!

The move the GM missed. mate is inevitable.

23 . . . P-B5 24 PxP mate

Now world no 3 woman v world no 1 14-year-old:

Matthew Sadler, aged 12, at the Lloyds Bank International in London, drew with four international masters in succession in the last few rounds, a record, and missed by half a point becoming the youngest to achieve an international master result.

IM Pia Cramling (Sweden) — Michael Adams (England)
Queen's Pawn (Lloyds Bank 1986)

1 N-KB3 N-KB3 2 P-Q4 P-K3
3 P-K3 P-B4 4 B-Q3 N-B3
5 0-0 P-Q4 6 P-QN3 PxP
7 PxP B-K2 8 B-N2 0-0
9 QN-Q2 P-QN3 10 P-QR3 B-N2
11 Q-K2 R-B1 12 P-R3? R-K1

White starts a decentralising attack which concedes the initiative; better 12 QR-K1 followed by N-K5.

13 N-N5 B-B1 14 P-KB4 Q-Q3
15 Q-B2 N-K2 16 QR-K1 P-KR3
17 R-K5 P-N3 18 N(5)-B3 B-N2
19 N-R2 Q-B2 20 R-K2 N-K5

Sacrificing the exchange for two pawns and light square control.

21 Bxn PxB 22 N-N4 QxQBP!
23 N-B4 QxP 24 N-Q6 B-R3
25 R-K3 Q-R5 26 NxKR QxN
27 R-Q1 P-R4 28 N-R2 B-Q6

Threatening N-B4 winning the QP, so White returns the exchange for the ghost of an attack.

29 R(3)xB PxR 30 RxP N-Q4
31 R-Q2 B-R3 32 P-N3 Q-R5
33 N-B3 B-B1 34 N-K5 BxP
35 P-B5 NPxP 36 Resigns

White is three pawns down without compensation. Black's mature positional play has the stamp of a future GM.

Bridge

By Rixi Markus©

I HAVE always been critical of the philosophy of the Five Card Major system, whereby an opening bid of 1H or 1S guarantees at least five cards in the suit and hands containing one or two four-card majors are opened 1C or 1D, depending on which is the better minor. It may just be that I rarely seem to hold five-card major suits and that since I tend to hold less than my fair share of high cards, I like to get into the bidding first with one of a major as often as I can.

In just the same way as I enjoy interfering over silly conventions like the Multi 2D, in an attempt to teach their supporters a lesson, I always try to interfere over 1C or 1D if I know that my opponents are playing Five Card Majors. Here is an example of my methods in action at a Cannes Bridge Festival; East dealt with East-West vulnerable.

NORTH
♠ J 9 6 5 4 2
♥ 7
♦ J 4
♣ 10 4 3 2

WEST
♠ 10 8 3
♥ A J 10 9
♦ 10 7 2
♣ K 7 6

EAST
♠ A K 7
♥ K 8 5 3
♦ K 8 6 5
♣ Q 8

SOUTH
♠ Q
♥ Q 6 4 2
♦ A Q 9 3
♣ A J 9 5

The bidding:

East	South (Markus)	West	North
1D(1)	1H(2)	1NT	NB
2NT	3C(3)	D'ble	NB
NB	NB		

(1) East-West were playing five-card majors, and East therefore had to open with a nebulous bid of 1D. As you will see, East's failure to open 1H on this occasion meant that his side's 4-4 heart fit never came to light.

(2) I could not double with a singleton spade and I do not believe in trap passing when I have as many as 15 points. I therefore had to bid 1H, despite the terrible quality of the suit. My holding in diamonds suggested that diamonds were not East's only suit, and I hoped that my intervention would make it more difficult for the opponents to get together.

(3) This was a dangerous bid, but I did not fancy the idea of my partner leading a heart or a spade against an eventual no trump contract.

West led a small diamond against 3C doubled and, hoping that his partner held the queen, East went up with the king when I played low from dummy. Realising that it would be hopeless to duck a heart at trick two, I crossed to dummy with the jack of diamonds and led a small spade. East went up with the king and switched to the queen of clubs, which I captured with the ace. I cashed the queen of diamonds, discarding the losing heart from dummy, and cross-ruffed two hearts in dummy and two spades in the closed hand, I then played the established nine of diamonds, at which point I was sure to make nine tricks and my doubled contract. In actual fact, West misdefended by declining to ruff the diamond, and I emerged with an overtrick to score +570 and a complete "top" on the board.

I subscribe to very few bidding gadgets, preferring to keep things as simple as possible. However, I can quite see that Transfer Bids in response to 1NT have considerable advantages over traditional methods, and one of these is that they enable the stronger of the two hands to remain concealed when the responder is weak. Here is another example from Cannes:

NORTH
♠ 10
♥ J 10 7 6 5
♦ J 9 7
♣ Q 7 6 3

WEST
♠ Q J 9 8 3 2
♥ 9 8
♦ 8 4
♣ K 5 2

EAST
♠ K 7
♥ K 4 3
♦ K Q 6 5 2
♣ A 10 8

SOUTH
♠ A 6 5 4
♥ A Q 2
♦ A 10 3
♣ J 9 4

South	West	North	East
1NT	NB	2D(1)	NB
2H(2)	NB	NB	NB

(1) A Transfer Bid, requesting the opener to convert to the next higher-ranking suit.

(2) Happy to oblige.

West led the queen of spades against 2H, and I won in hand and led a club towards dummy. Not knowing that I did not hold the ace in the closed hand, West went in with the king of clubs and returned a second spade. I ruffed in dummy and ran the jack of hearts, which held the trick. I then played a small heart to the queen, drew the outstanding trump with the ace and led the jack of clubs to drive out East's ace. This enabled me to restrict my losers to two clubs and one diamond and +170 gave us an excellent match-point score on the board.

CLASSIFIED

EDUCATION

HOTELS

SOCCER RESULTS

FOOTBALL LEAGUE — FIRST DIVISION: Arsenal 0, Tottenham 0; Aston Villa 1, Oxford U 2; Charlton 1, Norwich 2; Chelsea 1, Luton 3; Everton 0, QPR 0; Leicester 1, Manchester U 1; Manchester C 0, Coventry 1; Newcastle 2, Sheffield W 3; Southampton 1, Nottingham F 3; Watford 0, Wimbledon 1; West Ham 2, Liverpool 5.

Leading positions: 1, Wimbledon 12 pts (5 games); 2, Liverpool 10 (5); 3, Nottingham F 10 (5).

SECOND DIVISION: Barnsley 0, Portsmouth 2; Blackburn 6, Sunderland 1; Bradford C 0, Oldham 3; Brighton 0, Grimsby 1; Derby 1, Crystal Palace 0; Huddersfield 1, Leeds 1; Hull 0, Plymouth 3; Ipswich 1, Shrewsbury 0; Reading 1, WBA 1; Sheffield U 1, Birmingham 1; Stoke 2, Millwall 0.

Leading positions: 1, Oldham 13 pts (5 games); 2, Blackburn 9 (3); 3, Crystal Palace 9 (4).

THIRD DIVISION: Blackpool 1, Carlisle 2; Bolton 4, Darlington 3; Brentford 0, Port Vale 2; Bristol C 2, Wigan 1; Chester 2, Fulham 2; Middlesbrough 3, Bury 1; Newport 2, Swindon 2; Notts County 1, Bournemouth 1; Rotherham 0, Gillingham 1; Walsall 1, Doncaster 3; York 1, Bristol R 0. Played Sunday: Mansfield 1, Chesterfield 1.

Leading positions: 1, Middlesbrough 7 pts (3 games). 2, York 7 (3); 3, Notts County 7 (3).

FOURTH DIVISION: Exeter 4, Stockport 0; Hartlepool 2, Cambridge U 2; Hereford 2, Burnley 0; Lincoln 1, Preston 1; Peterborough 1, Aldershot 1; Rochdale 1, Northampton 2; Swansea 4, Orient 1; Torquay 2, Wrexham 1; Wolverhampton 0, Cardiff 1. Played Friday: Halifax 0, Southend 1; Tranmere 3, Colchester 4. Played Sunday: Scunthorpe 2, Crewe 1.

Leading positions: 1, Exeter 7 pts (3 games); 2, Hereford 7 (3); 3, Cambridge 7 (3).

FINE FARE SCOTTISH LEAGUE — PREMIER DIVISION: Celtic 4, Hamilton 1; Dundee 0, Dundee U 2; Falkirk 1, Hibernian 1; Hearts 2, Clydebank 1; Motherwell 0, Rangers 2; St Mirren 1, Aberdeen 1.

Leading positions: 1, Dundee U 11 pts (6 games); 2, Celtic 9 (6); 3, Hearts 9 (6).

SCOTTISH FIRST DIVISION: Airdrie 1, Partick 0; Clyde 1, Montrose 1; Dumbarton 3, Brechin 1; East Fife 1, Morton 0; Forfar 1, Queen of South 1; Kilmarnock 1, Dunfermline 2.

Leading positions: 1, Airdrie 10 pts (6 games); 2, Dunfermline 10 (6); 3, Dumbarton 8 (6).

SCOTTISH SECOND DIVISION: Albion 3, Arbroath 0; Alloa 2, Stenhousemuir 0; Ayr 4, Berwick 2; E Stirling 0, Stranraer 0; Meadowbank 0, Queen's Park 0; Raith 0, Stirling A 0; St Johnstone 1, Cowdenbeath 0.

Leading positions: 1, Alloa 10 pts (5 games); 2, Stirling 9 (5); 3, Raith 7 (5).

TENNIS: David Irvine at Flushing Meadow

Easy pickings for Lendl

IN the most one-sided final since 1974, Ivan Lendl became the first European in more than half a century to make a successful defence of his US Open men's title at Flushing Meadow on Sunday when he beat his Czech countryman Miloslav Mecir 6-4, 6-2, 6-0 in an hour and 53 minutes. The bearded wonder from Prague, who had defeated Boris Becker only 20 hours earlier in a five-set semi-final, looked drained and could not sustain his first-set challenge.

Finals such as this are a direct result of pandering to television. The Open is the only Grand Slam event in which the semi finals and final are on successive days. Financially it may make sense, but it is palpably unfair on the players and the paying public.

No one ever knows what to expect from Mecir. Sometimes, as against Becker, he can be sensational. At others, as against Lendl in his first major final, he just seems to shrug his shoulders and accept the inevitable. He did not do himself justice, but he was deserving of sympathy.

For Lendl, at his clinical best, it was confirmation of his No. 1 standing in the men's game. He hit hard throughout, which Becker earlier failed to do, and was superbly accurate from the baseline.

It was Lendl's fourth victory in 12 Grand Slam appearances. Unlike Mecir, he is much more at home in the United States — he now lives in Connecticut — and he is desperately keen to endear himself to New Yorkers. Whether he was successful in this is debatable. They still see him as a heartless machine and were leaving in droves long before the final curtain descended on what had been a very disappointing contest.

The first set was intriguing. Mecir answered an immediate break and there were some superb rallies before Mecir gave the first sign of nerves with a double fault in the seventh game which was followed by two rattling winners from Lendl, who went on from that break to take the opening set with an ace after 50 minutes.

From 3-2 in the second set Mecir simply dissolved. Lendl won the last nine games in an overwhelming finish equalling Fred Perry's successful defence in 1934.

Despite his loss Mecir's emergence further underlined the manner in which the Czechs are taking over the game. For the first time in Grand Slam history the Czech-born players claimed all four places in both the men's and women's finals.

Happy end to Martina's ordeal

LESS than 24 hours after surviving three match points against Steffi Graf, who challenged her with a performance of singular maturity, Martina Navratilova won the women's singles title at the US Open on Saturday for the third time in four years when she defeated Helena Sukova 6-3, 6-2 in a final lasting exactly an hour.

Victory marked Navratilova's 41st Grand Slam triumph within the past decade — 15 of those in singles — giving her more major titles than any one in the game's history bar Australia's Margaret Court. It was somehow appropriate that a Dynasty star, Linda Evans, should present her with the winner's cheque for £140,000.

The final was a dreadful anti-climax after Saturday's contest. Sukova, so impressive in her semi-final with Chris Lloyd on Friday, appeared to have gone off the boil during the 24-hour delay. "I wasn't surprised Martina played so well — I was surprised I didn't play anything like as well as I can."

Navratilova's semi-final with Graf was reminiscent of her 1985 final against Hana Mandlikova, another Czech challenger. Mandlikova outsmarted her last year and, as in that match Navratilova took a 6-1 set and lost the first two tiebreaks. The difference in her 1986 crisis was that Navratilova survived the second tiebreak after Graf had three times had a point for victory.

"I was very, very lucky," the champion admitted. "You can't be pushed any more than that. Everyone said it would be close, but this was ridiculous. Steffi's a terrific player. I just hope she doesn't get too much better. If she does, I'll quit."

Graf, the power of whose groundstrokes was often awesome, felt her serve let her down. That remark betrayed the 17-year-old's inexperience. Navratilova, who stayed back in the earlier tiebreak, simply put pressure on Graf's serve, thereafter by chipping and charging in behind every return, eventually forcing Graf to overstretch herself.

CRICKET: Matthew Engel on the NatWest final at Lords

Lancashire bowling exposed

CUP FINALS divide into the maniacal and the mechanical: and the closing stages of the 1986 NatWest final will not be remembered long outside such places as Rottingdean and Pease Pottage.

Yet Lancashire had asked Sussex to score 243, something that had never been achieved by a victorious chasing team in the 38 previous Lord's finals. If the Sussex batsmen knew the statistic it never worried them. Though most of the innings were conducted in the traditional cup final gloaming and only 10 balls were left when the winning runs came, the margin was seven wickets and all doubt had long since vanished.

On one of the best batting wickets seen in a recent one-day final, Lancashire had not scored enough. And, crucially, they were short of a recognised sixth bowler.

The match turned when Lancashire made their first bowling change and O'Shaughnessy came on. O'Shaughnessy is not a predictable cricketer, but it could have happened to anyone; he bowled badly and got hammered. It had already happened to Jones of Sussex but they had a spare bowler to cover the cracks. Lancashire did not. In the end, Lloyd was reduced to bowling Fairbrother and Abrahams as makeweights, which was embarrassing.

The Lancashire captain must take his share of the blame for that, but it will be a hard man who hands it out. Lloyd's innings consisted of a prolonged standing ovation with a short intermission when he faced four balls from Reeve, the last of which had him leg before as can be.

Lloyd, who said he was still considering retirement, is rumoured to be on the brink of being offered a new contract, and why not? Forty-two is no age. His Lancashire career may well outlast Patrick Patterson's, yet another of their disappointing fast bowlers. He will probably see us all out.

But one sensed the new generation starting to take over. Fairbrother gave further evidence of his talent, and the unconsidered Hayhurst looked a very cool customer. Sussex, however, had far more going for them, even without a spin bowler. Gould's triumph almost certainly means he will be given the captaincy officially when Barclay formally retires, and deservedly so.

The game fell into four stages: in the first hour Fowler and Mendis adventurously but successfully saw off the Imran-Le Roux threat. Then Reeve, the man of the match, ripped into the middle order. This was good bowling: Reeve was slanting the ball across Lancashire's array of left-handers and on occasion cutting it sharply back.

But after lunch Fairbrother and Hayhurst began the recovery, and until O'Shaughnessy made his ill-starred entry into the attack, Lancashire were on top. From then on Parker and Green progressed with great serenity: and Parker's strokeplay would not have disgraced an Indian prince. Imran permitted no nonsense at the end.

For both teams this jolly but essentially meretricious occasion provided a diversion from deeper problems. Sussex can expect nothing next year when Imran is playing for Pakistan and, long-term, look in need of an equally high-class overseas signing.

Lancashire are about to finish in the bottom six of the Championship for the eleventh consecutive year which, frankly, is a disgrace.

NATWEST SCOREBOARD

Lancashire

G. D. Mendis lbw b Reeve	17
G. Fowler c Gould b C. Wells	24
J. Abrahams c Pigott b Reeve	20
C. H. Lloyd lbw b Reeve	0
N. H. Fairbrother b Pigott	63
S. J. O'Shaughnessy b Reeve	4
A. N. Hayhurst c Gould b Imran Khan	49
C. Maynard c Gould b Imran Khan	14
M. Watkinson not out	15
J. Simmons not out	6
Extras (b1, lb17, w6, nb6)	30
Total (for 8, 60 overs)	242

Fall of wickets: 50, 56, 56, 65, 100, 203, 206, 217.
Did not bat: P. J. W. Allott.
Bowling: Imran Khan 12-2-43-2; Le Roux 9-0-43-0; Jones 3-0-25-0; C. Wells 12-3-34-1; Reeve 12-4-20-4; Pigott 12-1-59-1.

Sussex

R. I. Alikhan b Allott	6
A. M. Green st Maynard b Simmons	62
P. W. G. Parker c Abrahams b Hayhurst	85
Imran Khan not out	50
C. M. Wells not out	17
Extras (lb17, w6)	23
Total (for 3, 58.2 overs)	243

Fall of wickets: 19, 156, 190.
Did not bat: A. P. Wells, I. J. Gould, G. S. Le Roux, D. A. Reeve, A. C. S. Pigott, A. N. Jones.
Bowling: Watkinson 11.2-0-40-0; Allott 11-3-34-1; O'Shaughnessy 6-0-52-0; Hayhurst 12-2-38-1; Simmons 12-2-31-1; Abrahams 3-0-15-0; Fairbrother 3-0-16-0.
Umpires: H. D. Bird and K. E. Palmer.

Somerset in turmoil over axing of star players

CRICKET'S unhappy English season — what with defeat at the hands of India and New Zealand and generally dreary weather — looks to be heading for an equally unseemly ending. Rather than just fading away as better forgotten, the season could well be remembered for the rupturing of relationships between Somerset county cricket club and their two West Indian stars, Viv Richards and Joel Garner, and their teammate and buddy, Ian Botham.

The club are deeply split by the cricket committee's decision not to renew the contracts of the two West Indians. Botham has threatened to quit if they go, describing their being released as "like the royal family being sacked — the two of them are great ambassadors for the sport." Last week seven members of the general committee resigned and moves were afoot to form a fighting fund to go alongside calls for an extraordinary meeting.

The county's decision is partly to open the way for regular appearances by their more recent signing, Martin Crowe, the New Zealand Test player. But suggestions of a compromise in which the three could share appearances for the county — only two overseas players can play in any one match — were rejected by Richards in his first public comment on the situation. "Crowe has got his pride and so has Richards," he said.

Richards, captain of the West Indies in their whitewash of England last winter, said that being released was like being shot in the back. "It is evil. Is this the treatment for two faithful workhorses?" He said that another testimonial was being mentioned when out of the blue "you find yourself out without as much as a discussion". County supporters were said to be indignant at the thought of the loss of Richards's stroke-making and Garner's pace bowling.

Another to feel a backlash by his county last week was David Gower, who lost the captaincy of England to Mike Gatting this summer. Leicestershire have suggested that he take a rest from the county captaincy. There is no row between them, but the county secretary, Mike Turner, said: "David seems to have lost his enthusiasm for the day-to-day county scene." In Gower's absences playing for England the county have used four other players as captain — the sort of dilemma that has always faced counties with star international players. The pill was sugared for Gower by the offer of a testimonial next year. Gower said that he was reluctant to go but the issue was not contentious. He had been allowed to take off the closing part of the season complaining of mental and physical exhaustion.

If Gower's season ended on a down note Ken Rutherford's tour of England with New Zealand ended with a stunning innings of 317 from only 245 deliveries in three hours and 50 minutes in the Scarborough Festival match against Brian Close's XI. It was the second fastest triple century in England, and with 45 fours and eight sixes was the highest score ever made for New Zealand. He hit four successive sixes off Doshi and hit 199 in the two hours before tea. That knock overshadowed what could be the last first class appearance of Yorkshire's Geoff Boycott. He hit 81 and 21 in a drawn match in which 1,134 runs were scored.

The final challenges to Essex for the three-day county championship title will be played out this week, but the odds are vastly in their favour after they beat Kent last week by 23 runs. This saw them lead the championship table with 281 points from 22 games, 21 points ahead of Gloucestershire and two games in hand. Gloucestershire will at least finish fourth, but the battle for second and third place if not for the title will be played out when Essex meet Nottinghamshire this week. Notts are third in the table with 236 points, seven ahead of Surrey. Both have two games in hand.

Essex's hopes of taking the Sunday League title as well ended at the weekend when Hampshire beat Surrey by three runs to be sure of the title no matter what happens in the final games next Sunday. It is their third success in the league, which is the last to be sponsored by John Player.

Doubtless it will not last, but Wimbledon are thoroughly enjoying their unexpected leadership of the First Division of England's Football League. It is their first season in Division One, but with a handful of matches played they have 12 points, two more than the champions, Liverpool. Wimbledon's moment of glory arrived in midweek when they beat London neighbours Charlton Athletic to take over the leadership and confounded the opinion of Ted Croker, secretary of the Football Association, that there is really no place for the likes of Wimbledon in the First Division.

And in commercial terms Wimbledon and Charlton will struggle, for they do not have large followings to keep money coming through the turnstiles. Only 6,000 were at Charlton and even the 14,000 who at the weekend saw Wimbledon win 1-0 at Watford doesn't cover expenses. Still, Wimbledon will enjoy it while they can, which is more than can be said for Manchester United. Last season they began with a string of 10 consecutive wins. This time they have only one point from four matches and are bottom of the First Division, with cries for the manager, Ron Atkinson, to be fired.

Meanwhile, Oldham Athletic, managed by the former England forward Joe Royle, are making all the running in the Second Division and are still the only side in the entire four divisions who have not yet conceded a goal.

Nigel Mansell, the British grand prix racing driver, still leads the world drivers' championship after the Italian Grand Prix at Monza on Sunday, when he finished second, but the pressure on him is growing all the time. At Monza his Williams teammate, Nelson Piquet, won his fourth race of the season and is now five points behind the 61 of Mansell. There are three races left.

Alan Dunn's DIARY

CRICKET

John Player League Table

	P	W	L	NR	T	Pts
Hampshire (3)	15	11	3	1	0	46
Essex (1)	15	10	4	1	0	42
Northamptonshire (6)	15	9	4	2	0	40
Nottinghamshire (12)	15	9	5	1	0	38
Sussex (2)	15	9	6	0	0	36
Kent (10)	15	7	5	2	1	34
Somerset (10)	15	7	6	2	0	32
Yorkshire (6)	15	7	6	1	1	32
Derbyshire (4)	15	7	8	0	0	28
Middlesex (12)	15	5	7	3	1	26
Warwickshire (6)	15	5	6	2	2	26
Glamorgan (14)	15	6	8	1	0	26
Lancashire (14)	15	6	8	1	0	26
Leicestershire (6)	15	5	9	1	0	22
Surrey (17)	15	4	8	2	1	22
Worcestershire (16)	15	5	11	0	0	20
Gloucestershire (8)	15	3	11	2	0	16

1985 positions in brackets.